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EXTRACTS FROM REPORT ON ENGLISH AND VERNACULAR NEWS PAPERS

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Extract from the

Report on English and Vernacular Newspapers for the year 1920

8th May to 26th June 1920

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Batch III

For the week ending 8th May, 1920.

NO. 19 OF 1920.

~~I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.~~

ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

1. The Cochin Argus, for the week ending 1st May, writes:--"It is very evident that the organisers and supporters of the impertinent, unhealthy and senseless agitation set on foot by the Khalafat Conference, with the unqualified approval of Mr.Gandhi, and, as a matter of fact, largely on the initiative and advice of this scarcely harmless political eccentric, are bent upon pushing their movement throughout the whole of India, for we find that, having sown the seed of the agitation with some degree of success in Madras, Mr.Shaukat Ali, the elder brother of Mr.Muhammad Ali, is coming across to the West Coast on the same mission and in the belief, doubtless, that, among the Muhammadans of this coast, he will find more solid support and acceptance of his extraordinary views on the question of an equitable settlement with Turkey than he has been able to secure in some of the other tracts he has already visited. His hopes of finding whole-hearted support on this coast are, perhaps, not without justification, for a community, ignorant, and bigotted in the bulk, who still take very seriously the amazing legend that the late Queen Victoria was a tenant-at-will under the Sultan of Turkey and who still derive amusement from the marvellously imaginative bazaar story, very current during the war, that King George had gone personally to Constantinople and pleaded earnestly but vainly with the Sultan not to enter the

The Khilafat agitation.

conflict as an ally of Germany may be expected to swallow readily and without question all the stuff which, with a sublime disregard of historical accuracy, Mr. Shaukat Ali has lately been pouring forth in a stream of eloquence peculiarly his own............The practical question is merely that Turkey, having chosen to enter the war, must abide by the consequences, and cannot be treated in accordance with the desires and sentiments of Indian Muhammadans and their Hindu supporters and sympathisers. As Mr. Asquith pithily observed the other day 'You cannot wage war in these days, even if you are a Khalif, on the terms of limited liability.' Those Indian Muhammadans, who now want that Turkey should be treated with unprecedented magnanimity, had not chosen to do their plain duty as British subjects when Turkey imbroiled himself with the enemies of the British Government. They did not choose then to appeal to Turkey not to betray ingratitude to a Power under which Moslems have always enjoyed the fullest religious liberty and Islam and her holy places and shrines have always been treated with the utmost respect and consideration. As far as we are aware, they did not even protest when the Turks were perpetrating brutal atrocities against wounded and captive Indian soldiers, Muhammadans included, fighting in the war. They had no appeals and protests in all these cases, although both justice and humanity demanded it, but now, they would save Turkey from the just and inevitable consequences of her own deliberate and ungrateful behaviour. But this is not all. They are threatening the British Government and the British Empire. According to a resolution of the Khalafat Conference, if the Turkish settlement is not in accordance with the sentiments of the Hindu-Moslem community in India, the Government will be boycotted. Police, Military

and other appointments will be thrown up and refused; payment of taxes will be refused; and, in a word, a great campaign of passive resistance will be instituted, whose effect will be to render impossible the administration of the country. That the Khalafat Conference shuts its eyes to the fact that its threat of conditional loyalty is far from being as largely shared as it supposes is nothing surprising, being in keeping with the tactics, as a whole, of the conference, but what we are astonished at is the shameless ingratitude of a community which owes to the British Government a debt which it can never wholly repay. What we are equally astonished at is the quixotically generous way in which the Government is suffering these threats to be repeated all over the country and is permitting the spread of an agitation, which may be fraught with dangerous and regrettable consequences. Insensate boycotting is always liable to develop into more serious disorders, and should these occur, force will necessarily have to be employed, however painful its enforcement might be. Then a fresh agitation will arise, and we shall hear the usual nonsense about O'Dwyerism and Dyerism, and there will be insane demands for the recall of Viceroys and the dismissal of State Secretaries. Why, we ask, should any room be given for all this sort of unpleasantness, when the best course obviously is to nip mischievous and senseless agitation in the bud? It is, we feel constrained to assert, a weak and unwise administration which passively permits liberty of speech and action to degenerate into actually or potentially dangerous license.

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3 (k) General.

3. Referring to the resolutions discussed at the Fifth Malabar District Conference held at Manjeri on the 28th and 29th April, the West Coast Reformer, of the 2nd May, observes:--

The Fifth Malabar District Conference.

We now find for the first time that a district conference held under the auspices and the guidance of the National Congress has definitely resolved to support the policy of non-co-operation. This, we regret to say, was unexpected, and was a wholly unnecessary step. Some other special conference might have been held for that purpose, and the District Conference might have been saved from the obloquy. The President is reported to have said that there might come no necessity to carry out the resolution and that the very moral force of the resolution when it was adopted throughout the country would compel the British Government to reconsider the Turkish terms. This view was probably a strong inducement to those who voted for the resolution. But may we draw their attention to the attitude of the Khalafat deputation now in England?"

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

7. The Swadesamitran, of the 29th April, writes:--

The Turkish question.

Many would have thought about the point whether the decision of the Great Powers in regard to the Turkish problem is likely to lead to harmony or discord. If the former, why was the Khilafat deputation from India refused an audience? While the views of many small races have been ascertained, it is neither sound statemanship, nor does it indicate forethought to have declined an interview to the representatives of the thirtythree crores of Indians. This anomalous decision of the Great Powers will only increase the heart-burning of the Indian Muslims and not allay it. Colonel Wedgewood stated at the Khilafat Conference recently held in London that he did not apprehend a rebellion with arms in India. We have to urge again that, though it is certain that there will be a struggle in this country in the event of the Turkish question not being settled satisfactorily, it is not the sword or the gun but the rare weapon of soul force that will be resorted to freely in it. Mr.Gandhi still believes that it is possible to wring justice from those that make much of brute force Every one should deeply consider his statement that the best way to do this is to keep quiet ceasing to co-operate with the Government.

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9. Referring to the speech of the Amir of Afghanistan on the Khilafat question, the Andhra-patrika, of the 3rd May, says:--

The Khilafat question.

If the news of the speech is true, it is evident how far the Khilafat ~~pxk~~ problem has agitated the whole Moslem world. ~~It is not just on the part of the Europeans to provoke the whole Moslem world.~~ It is not just on the part of the Europeans to provoke the whole of the Central Asia. The Peace Conference will establish permanent peace on the earth if in response to the wishes of the Indians, it solves the Khalafat question satisfactorily.

The Khilafat.

Referring to the resolutions relating to non-co-operation with the Government, giving up of titles, etc., passed at the Khilafat Conference held at Madras under the presidency of Mr. Shaukat Ali, the Kerala Sanchari, of the 28th April, says:--If effect should be given to the above resolutions what evil consequences might not follow? It is said that Messrs. Gandhi and Tilak support these resolutions. Though Mr. Gandhi is a Mahatma and Mr. Tilak ~~support the resolutions. Though Mr. Gandhi is~~ a Lokamanya, are not the above resolutions and their favourable attitude towards them somewhat rash?

Referring to the resolutions of Mr. Shaukat Ali, etc., regarding non-co-operation with Government, to the introduction of the Seditious Meetings Act in Delhi and to the letter published by Mr. Gandhi that non-co-operation with the Government will bring about the success of the movement, the Kerala Patrika, of the ~~1sx~~ 1st May, apprehends that all this portends some serious changes in the future of India, and observes that it knows for certain that there are many respectable people among

the Muhammadans themselves who are opposed to the present resolutions.

Writing on the same subject, the Yogakshemam, of the 30th April, remarks:--This matter has not only caused considerable agitation amongst Indian Mussalmans, but they have begun to leave India to settle down in Afghanistan as the subjects of the Amir..........It would appear that this matter has now assumed serious proportions.

Referring to the Khilafat question and the consequent unrest in India, the Samadarsi, of the 1st May, says:--These events show clearly how terrible the unrest in India will be, if at the Peace Conference the Turkish question is not settled consistently with the dignity of the Khalifa. And when the people are agitated and begin to create disturbances the harshness of the authorities will also increase. Signs of this are now already appearing. The Seditious Meetings Act has been extended to Delhi, and the weapon of the Press Act has been applied to two papers.

The Khilafat problem.

The Hitakarini, of the 19th April, gives in Telugu the message of Mr.Gandhi on the subject, in which he advocates a cessation of co-operation with the Government, in the event of the problem not being satisfactorily solved.

The Khilafat problem.

Referring to the Khilafat problem the Andhraprakasika, of the 17th April, approves of the policy adopted by His Exalted Highness the Nizam and observes:--It is desirable that the movement should be placed under check; The illiterate masses may behave rashly. The disposal of the

question does not entirely rest with the British. The allies have much to do with it. It is therefore unreasonable that the whole responsibility should be placed on them.

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10. Reiterating the fact that it was the Indians that settled in East Africa prior to the Europeans and reclaimed the soil there, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st May, compares the conduct of the Europeans there in trying to oust the Indians to a guest turning out the host and observes:--It will be legitimate on the part of the Indians to demand that, by virtue of their being the prior settlers in the country and their having improved it, they should be granted certain special privileges. But they do not do so and all that they ask for is equal treatment with others. The Europeans, however, being the favoured ones, demand special conveniences to themselves to the prejudice of the Indians. With the hope of getting justice by a representation of their grievances, some Indians from East Africa went to London and interviewed the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary for the colonies and it appears the former expressed his sympathy for them, while the latter was not prepared to do even that. He seems to have added that no details of their interview should be published and we do not know why. If the demand of the Indians is legitimate, can they get it or not?

Indians in East Africa. 7

Referring to the news that it has been notified in German East Africa now under the control of the British Government that any one in the Conoly of the British

The Indians in Africa.

may be asked to quit it within a stated period on penalty of undergoing imprisonment for six months and paying a fine of Rs.3,000 amd to the remark of the Rev.Andrews that this will affect the Indians most, the Lokopakari, of the 15th April, observes:--Can any European say that the Indians had no share in conquering the German East Africa for the British? It is a grievous sin to insult, on account of difference in colour, the Indians who joined with the Europeans and hoisted the flag of victory. The European war was the result of the atrocities committed for a long time by the world. Still the world has not yet learnt a lesson.

Remarking that the whites in the Colonies are puffed up with the pride that they have been sent by God to wield power on earth and, therefore, consider the Indians to be slaves and treat them as such, the Desabhaktan, of the 3rd May, refers to the Indians in South Africa having been treated worse than animals prior to the intervention of Mr.Gandhi and to the statement of the Rev.Andrews who has recently returned from a tour in Africa that the inimical feeling now smouldering in the hearts of the whites there against the Indians, may at any time blaze into a flame and observes:--Do the whites there know why the British took up arms against Germany? Have they not learnt any lesson from the European war? When will they come to have a spirit of equality? The South African question is ever wounding the feelings of the Indians. Will this wound be healed at least in the 'new era'?

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13. The Qaum Report, of the 24th April, in meeting Mrs. Besant's, Doctor Subramani Ayyar's and C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar's attacks on the Khilafat Conference held in Madras draws attention to their former attitude towards the Government and accuses them of having suddenly changed their policy with reference to the Khilafat problem, and remarks that Mrs. Besant has set afoot an agitation of hatred and contempt against Islam, and Mussalmans which is a part of the European crusade. Just as Armenians and their supporters are throwing obstacles in the way of Muslims, Mrs.Besant trying to obstruct the progress of the resolutions of the Khilafat Conference. But there is a vast body of Hindus at one with Mussalmans. If Doctor Subramani, and C.P. Ramaswami are intent upon organising an agitation against Muslims by means of lies, falsehoods, lying reports, and hatred, we will only say this that Faith is part and parcel of the Muslim's nature, and even though we have to pass through fire and water, we are not a people to be stopped.

The Madras Khilafat Conference: Mrs.Besant's disgraceful attack.

Referring to the Khilafat Conference held in Madras, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 30th April, writes:--A resolution was passed at this conference that both Moslems and Hindus will cease to co-operate with Government if the Khalafat question is not satisfactorily solved. Since Mahatma Gandhi is at the back of this Satyagraha of the Moslems, we have no need to fear that it will lead to untoward results. And what is more, the authorities are now generally agreed that Satyagraha is a harmless movement. Further, we have already proofs to show that it leads to success without harm to anybody.

The Madras Khilafat Conference.

From this we can understand that the educated Moslems have decided to accept the lead of Gandhi and to have the Khilafat problem solved to their satisfaction.

The future of the Khilafat and Islam.

The Jaridah-i-Rozgar of the 27th April, discussing at length the present state of affairs created by the Khilafat problem remarks that, in spite of repeated warnings given by Mr.Montagu and more especially by Lord Chelmsford to Mr.Lloyd George's Government that in concluding peace with Turkey, if Muslim demands be completely ignored, the British Government would be involved in fresh difficulties, the people of the west, by their various suggestions with reference to the Turkish future, have housed religious feelings of the Muslims. In the beginning Muslim sentiments were limited to an expression of dissatisfaction, but when Mr.Lloyd George's Government showed they were prepared to break their promise, a cry of protest rose from every corner of India. India's unbounded sympathy with Islamic Khilafat first of all manifested itself in a religious aspect, but to-day we see that the unity of India has infused in this problem, the spirit of nationalism, if Hindu leaders by displaying their sympathy with Mussalmans and by promising to cease co-operating with the Government, have shown that India's two powerful communities have very great concern with Turkish affairs.

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24. Referring to the news that a security of Rs.2,000 was demanded from Janab Muhammad Anwar Ali who intended to start an Urdu daily in Calcutta and that he has paid the same, the Desabhaktan, of the 26th April, observes:--The authorities have not changed their attitude in the least to suit the times. If they begin to apply repressive laws on every occasion, there is no doubt that they will be thereby increasing unrest and discontent in the country; The moderates advise us to co-operate with the officials and say that a good time has dawned on India. But the obstinate officials threaten the Indians and keep them at a distance by the adoption of repressive measures. Why do not moderates venture to condemn the action of these officials?

The Press Act and the Newspapers.

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25. Referring to the programme of work prepared by the Madras Provincial Congress Committee in accordance with the resolutions passed at the Amritsar Congress and remarking that the Congress party will not only try their best to secure as much benefit as possible from the Reforms Act but will aslo work for the acquisition of complete Home Rule, the Swadesamitran, of the 27th April, writes:-- The moderates say that they will demonstrate their capacity by working the Act and try to get a further instalment of reforms. As the Congress party are convinced that India and her people are even now fit for complete Home Rule, they do not concede the necessity of trying to obtain a certificate from a third party. Though the moderate leaders have also admitted often the fitness of India to have Home Rule immediately, it is pitiable

The programme of the Congress Party.

that they should be out for obtaining a certificate without being steady in their views.) In England, unless action is taken against any person publicly in a court of law, no officer has the power to deprive him of his liberty, life and property. But in India there exists such a power, as a result of which many have suffered during the past twenty years. No better illustration of this is needed than what happened in the Punjab last year. Newspapers are suffering under repressive measures. In the present system of administration a great deal of unnecessary expenditure is being incurred and adequate funds are not available for legitimate expenses. If the habit of appointing foreigners to high posts is gradually given up and Indians are appointed to those places, the expenditure will be curtailed. With the savings thus effected, the condition of the subordinate officials can be improved. (The Congress party are of opinion that, if the present provincial revenues are properly utilised, there will be no need for resorting to fresh taxation. Taxes are already very heavy and the people are unable to bear the burden. Under the circumstances, it will be a merciless act to propose to increase the existing taxes. It is many years since Lord Morley wrote that village life should be regulated and made the basis of public life.) In ancient days the administration of each village was conducted on democratic lines, and if that condition is restored, the country will progress of its own accord. (It is only the Congress party that has realised this need. If the programme of this party is compared with that of the other parties, it will be patent that this party had decided to work only for the good of the people. So, it is the members of this party that should be elected as the representatives of the people.)

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26 The Swadesamitran, of the 27th April, publishes a lecture said to have been delivered by Mr.V.O.Chidambaram Pillai at Madura on the 24th idem, in the course of which he is reported to have dilated upon the necessity of the Government sympathising with the employees in mills and the railways and made the following observations among others:--

The Government and the labourers.

I cannot say that the Labour Commissioner has done anything till now to benefit the labourers. Even in England, the labourers improved their condition only recently, after a great deal of troubles and sacfifice. It is the bureaucrats and the capitalists that impeded their progress even there. The same story is repeated here. If the grievances of the labourers are not redressed now, it will surely lead to danger. If the Railway employees go on strike, how can the business of the Government be conducted? The Police, the Telegraph, the Post and the Railway are the four pillars of the Government and it is the duty of the latter to strengthen these pillars. We give this warning to the Government only because we have a great love for them.

The Fifth Malabar District Conference.

29. Coming to the important resolutions passed at the at the Conference, one was the resolution passed by the Madras Khalafat Conference. This was opposed by Mrs.Besant, and all her arguments were met by the audience themselves. When she stated that, if people were to give up Government appointments, they might have to starve, and it was pointed out by a Muhammadan gentleman that the people of this land would not look on, allowing any one to starve. Granting that some have to starve, when a thing is done conscientiously, inconvenience is sure to result. Every one knows that, if one touches fire, it will scald. But has Mrs.Besant forgotten that great men like Cronmer and Dudley once preferred to be burnt to death to accepting principles against their conscience? Difficulty will occur on account of one ceasing to co-operate with the Government. The meaning of that resolution is only that it should be borne.

Mr.Kasturiranga Ayyangar and the Khilafat question.

(31). Referring to Mr.S.Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the leader of the nationalist party in Madras, having spoken with much fervour in seconding the resolution passed by the Madras Khilafat Conference that, if the Khilafat question was not satisfactorily settled, the Indians could not co-operate with the Government, and also to the remarks of New India about his having refrained from dwelling upon this question in the Hindu and omitted to make any mention of Non-co-operation in his Presidential address at the Malabar District Conference, the Desabhaktan, of the 29th April, observes:--The present is a criticial juncture in the history of our country and it is doubtful whether such a time will come again. We strongly urge that, at this juncture when the nationalist party is gaining strength and when herculean efforts are made by our opponents to thwart the nationalists, it is not meet that Mr.Kasturiranga Ayyangar should keep silent. He should now display that boldness, which he exhibited during the period of the home-rule agitation and prove to our opponents that the nationalists will act as they speak. We ask what the other nationalist leaders like Mr.S.Srinivasa Ayyangar and C.Vijayaraghava Achariyar are doing at present. When great insult and indignity have been offered to the nationalists these leaders should boldly come forward to curb the fuss made by their opponents. The nationalists in the mufassal are feeling dispirited without knowing what to do. It is essential that our leaders should openly state whether, in case the Khilafat question is not satisfactorily settled, the Indians and especially the nationalists are to co.operate with the Government or not. We fear that the strength of the nationalist party will gradually decline, if we do not

publish the devices of our opponents. It is needness for us to point out that it is necessary for Messrs.Kasturiranga Ayyangar and Srinivása Ayyangar to come out openly and explaining the views of the nationalists, encourage those that share them.

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32. In a leader under this heading, Desabhaktan, of the 30th April, writes:-- The Home Rule agitation was very strong in this country three years ago and infused a spirit of liberty therein.

The Home Rule League.

Why has it slackened since? At that time there were no factions in the country and people were trusting one another and serving the country. The Montagu-Chelmsford report marred the union in the land and not only created party feeling but also undermined the mutual confidence of the people. Our people have become victims to the temptation of the Satan of the Montagu Chelmsford report. If the agitation started four years ago had kept on without flagging, fear would have disappeared from the country. Intimation has been received that Mr.Ghandi has agreed to become the president of the All-India Home Rule League and all those who wish for the progress of the country will try to improve the league under his leadership. Mr.Tilak's Home Rule League and Mrs.Besant's National Home Rule League need no longer exist independently. All would do well to merge in one and serve the country. Parties came into existence in the country when there was a controversy about accepting or rejecting the reforms and about their adequacy or otherwise. But now that the Act has been passed, there is no party in the land that rejects it. So it is our wish that all well-meaning persons should make a common cause and work

for the country. We trust that the political knowledge of Mr.Ghandi will confer great benefit on India. Let our countrymen stand by him and serve the country. The patriots in the Tamil land should try to revive the Home Rule Leagues.

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34. The strike in the Madura Mill.

Referring to the authorities of the Madura Mill having dismissed many of the employees, apart from their remaining obdurate in the matter of the employees already on strike, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th April, says:--Considering the fact that many of the employees now dismissed are office-bearers in the union and that they stated the grievances boldly, one has to conclude with Mr.Joseph that the aim of the mill authorities seems to be to break up the union. We will assert that any effort on the part of some capitalists to break up Labour Unions will not prove successful. Though the labour movement has appeared in India only recently, the capitalist should not forget that it has taken deep root. The Government, too, have to note a certain point here. They have appointed a Labour Commissioner to promote the Labour Unions. The Indian labourers do not, like those in the western countries, claim a share in the profits or want industries to be made national property. All that they plead is that the low wages paid to them is not sufficient in these famine days and that they should be treated like men. In carrying on an aigtation, for this purpose, it is quite natural for the illiterate labourers to commit mistakes. Still the capitalists should realise that their happiness depends upon that of the labourers and treat the latter with sympathy. Strikes, etc., are due only to their not doing so. The workmen

in nearly five factories are now on strike in the city and the labourers in the Madura Mill are also out. Under these circumstances, we hope the Labour Commissioner will attach special importance to public peace and the interests of the poor and settle the differences between capitalists and labourers amicably.

The strike in the Madura Mill.

The Desabhaktan, of the 1st May, also refers to the dismissal of some labourers in the Madura mill and echoing the view of the Swadesamitran of the 30th ultimo, that the aim of the mill authorities seems to be to break up the Labour Union there, observes:--It is in view of the growing strength of the labour movement that the Government of Madras appointed a Labour Commissioner and this has provoked the ire of the capitalists, some of whom have been and are still evincing a strong hatred towards labour associations. It is only on the day when this difference disappears and harmony is secured between the labourers and the capitalists that the progress of India will be in sight. If a labourer should be dismissed from his appointment merely because he is a member of a Labour Union, we would ask which way the world is moving. Where is Mr.Paddison the Labour Commissioner at present? We wish to know what he has done so far in connexion with the strike in the Madura mill. From the information supplied to us by Mr.George Joseph, yesterday, we have to ask whether the Labour Commissioner has been appointed for the benefit of the capitalists or for that of the labourers. We wish the Government of Madras would pay immediate attention to this matter. If they are different in regard to a strike that is now 18 days old, the question will arise why they should exist at all.

The attitude of the bureaucrats.

35. The Desabhaktan, of the 30th April, writes:--We were under the impression that the attitude of the bureaucrats in India would change after the issue of the Royal Proclamation. But the present events show that the bureaucrats have decided to show their valour even within the period of the viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford. But our question is whether India is at present prepared to have an exhibition of their valour. If these like, let them please themselves by going to the deserts of the Sahara or to the wilds of Brazil in South America and gloat over the introduction of such new laws as are indicative of their prowess. We doubt if it is a lesson learnt from the European war, that the British Government who claim to be the champions of truth and righteousness, should be passing, in this twentieth century and in civilized India, new laws or orders every day. We understand that the Seditious Meetings Act, 1911, has been brought into force at Delhi and that it will be in operation for three months; so the bureaucrats have hoisted their flag of repression. It pains us much that Mr.Barron, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, should utilise one weapon from his armoury of repression, just before going on long leave. We wish to know why the Seditious Meetings of any kind having been held at Delhi till now. But who knows what seditious meetings were discernible to the mental vision of the bureaucrats? The heart of the bureaucrat in India feels one thing, while his eyes see another and his ears hear of a third. How can there be peace in the land under these circumstances? It is a general policy, long in vogue in India, to resort to repression while introducing reforms. At the time of the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford report, repressive measures were adopted and martial law was introduced. We expected repression to cease

with this. But the bureaucrats are trying to repair the road of peace by means of repressive measures before the introducetion of the reforms. Our doubt is whether peace will be secured by this. The Prince of Wales will be here at the end of the year. The world is anxious to know the political capacity of the Indians. That the bureaucrats should, at this juncture, try to wound the feelings of the people shows only their ignorance. We do not know if the authorities have vowed to aim their arrows of repression every year in the month of April. The order passed with reference to Delhi says that no meeting should be held and no written or printed matter distributed, which will create a disturbance or any excitement among the people, without the previous sanction of the District Magistrate. But the order does not state the exact nature of the meeting or matter which will come under it. But the orders of the bureaucracy will always be worded in such a manner as to be interpreted agreeably to the times. This is one of the many misfortunes of India. The Khalafat agitation is being carried on strongly in India now. We infer that Mr.Barron started his rocket of repression only for this, and we wish he gets the title of a 'Baron' soon. Our readers should know that the present order in Delhi has been issued with the approval of Lord Chelmsford. The latter is ready to lend his support to any one who resorts to repression. Lord Chelmsford's term of office extends to April next year, and it is not known what all pranks he intends playing before then. Did Lord Chelmsford approve of this repressive measure after understanding the real condition of Delhi, or did he merely nod his head as he had done in the case of the introduction of Martial Law last year? We think the horse of statesmanship of Lord Chelmsford has no life in it; we do not know if it is a wooden or mud-horse. Will he try to give effect to the Rowlatt Law also before he goes to England.

38. The Lokopakari, of the 15th April, writes:--The British statesmen were expressing grandly during the period of the war that all races should be granted the right of self-determination.

India and self-determination.

But this stopped with mere words and it has become natural for the British officials to speak one thing and do another. Perhaps this is due to their being guided by the Anglo-Indians in India. The Anglo-Indian officials raise a cry that, if India is granted self-determination, the British Government will have to lose her. It is by relying upon the words of these selfish people that the British Government have spoiled India in many ways. They realised their folly during the period of the war. If India had been a country enjoying full liberty, she would have rendered much help to the British Empire then.

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42. Referring to the news received that Ladies' Associations in England are averse to the 'black' troops being employed there, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st May, says that many among the westerns are now getting disgusted with the 'black' troops, and asks why, if this disgust is due to difference of color or race, this idea did not strike them during the period of the great war.

The 'black' troops.

The Desabhaktan, of the 4th May, also refers to this subject and remarks:--Perhaps these ladies have forgotten what would have happened if the black troops from India, Algeria and other parts had not gone to France at a time when the Belgian, French and British troops were finding

The 'black' troops.

it unable to make a stand against the German onslaught on Belgium. We ask why these white women, that do not want black troops in Europe, failed to pass such a resolution at the end of 1914. Cannot these ladies, who dislike the black so much, pass a resolution that the whites should not rule over the territories of the black, but go back to their countries leaving these territories in the hands of the blacks themselves. But the benefit of a control over the countries of the blacks and trade and other transactions with them are very sweet to the whites! Perhaps the ladies that recently passed this resolution in London, did not consider over all this carefully.

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44. The Swadesamitran, of the 30th April, publishes the proceedings of a meeting held on the Madras Beach on the 29th idem under the auspices of the Swarajya Sangam, in which the following observations are reported to have been made among others by the President, Mr.Subrahmanya Siva, and other speakers:--

The Swarajya Sangam.

Mr.Subrahmanya Siva,-- The object of this sangam is to abide by the resolutions of the Congress of 1906 supporting the acquisition of swaraj and the spread of national education and advocating swadeshism and the boycott of foreign goods. Soul-force is more important now than brute-force or military strength. All those that will not stop with empty words but are bent upon action can join this Sangam.

Mr.T.C.Vaidyanada Ayyar.-- I have no faith, after witnessing the incidents in the Punjab, that we can acquire

witnessing the incidents in the Punjab, that we can acquire swaraj by the co-operation of the authorities.

Mr. Krishnaswami Sarma.-- One of the aims of this Sangam will be to acquire swaraj for India without its being subject to the Control of foreigners, as the liberty enjoyed by the people of a country subject to those of another is not the right sort of liberty. If a Muhammadan goes to jail in the matter of the Khalafat, a Hindu also will be prepared to follow him immediately.

Mr. M. S. Subrahmanya Ayyar.--We will preach to every villager to realize that this country is ours and that the officials and the Police are our servants and claim that as the British Government are administering this country as trustees, they should hereafter hand over the administration to us.......In doing this service, we shall act boldly ignoring all impediments and relying on soul-force.

The Desabhaktan, of the 30th April, also publishes these proceedings but in abstract.

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45. We cannot forget till our death that we are slaves politically. The racial distinction between a European and an Indian is observed everywhere, in the courts, on the railways, in the jails and in the hospitals. The Englishmen are paid high salaries. and do little work, while we have to do heavy work and draw low salaries. There was enough of valour among the people in ancient days. We are now lambs and eunuchs. The Englishmen are in no respect superior to us. Why should you be afraid of them? Every one in this country will surely support the statement of Diwan Madhava Rao, that the I.C.S. officials are unnecessary for this country. We know their worth and conduct by our experience. Forgetting that they won a victory in the war only by means of our troops and money, the British are granting to us piece-meal reforms as if by grace. Swaraj is our birthright and no one has a right to deny it. The bureaucracy is acting on the impression that we are not yet fit for it. But we are fit for it and no one can deny this too.

Mr. Satyamurti at Shiyali.

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48. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 28th April, writes:--Today's cables say that the report will be published in May..........We cannot understand why it has not been yet published....

The report of the Hunter Committee.

It is gradually becoming clear that Mr.Montagu is not able to maintain the traditions of the liberal party and he is losing the confidence of the Indians..........

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52. After stating that the Pioneer has bestowed unusual compliments on Mr.Montagu for refusing to revoke the order of deportation passed on Mr.Horniman, the Andhrapatrika, of the 30th April, remarks:--There is nothing unnatural in a man, however liberal-hearted he may be, becoming narrow minded, after joining the bureaucracy. Even Mr.Montagu has not been able to get over the conditions of the bureaucracy.

The Pionner and Mr. Montagu.

What is Mr.Horniman's guilt?

59. Expressing in an article under this heading its disapproval of the attitude of of Government in not annulling the deportation order of Mr.Horniman, the Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd of May, ~~Xxxxxxxxxx,xthexAndhrapatrikaxofxthe~~ observes:--Mr.Montagu has now withdrawn his former statement that one of Mr. Horniman's chief offences was his distribution of his paper among the British soldiers. He states that his writings gave rise to a critical situation. He adds that he was guilty of many other offences but does not specify them. It is to be regretted that Mr.Montagu has brushed aside the principles he formerly enunciated and stooped to vindicate the repression of freedom...........The future historian cannot help recording that Mr.Montagu has failed to give effect to his principles but yielded to the bureaucracy.

Imperial preference.

60. The Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd May, says;--Whatever may be the opinion of the committee appointed to inquire into the applicability or not of the system of imperial preference to India, the leaders of the people think that India will be a loser by it. The people in the Colonies and the British will profit by the system. While the Colonials subject the Indians to various difficulties in their countries and seek to drive them away, we do not see the reason why the Indians should show any love for them. It is an anomaly that India should undertake all the imperial responsibilities while the rest of the Empire enjoys all the imperial privileges. The Indians should show that India will not be bound by any such arrangement.

61. The Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd May, publishes in Telugu an extract from the Nation, which contains:--Indian public opinion is undoubtedly against Lord Chelmsford. It is not known how it is possible not to recallLord Chelmsford while Sir M.O'Dwyer is found fault with. The report recommends the removal from office of General Dyer, etc., and the repeal of the Rowlatt law. The demand of India is very moderate. Considering what has taken place, India should have made more rigorous demands.

The report of the Congress Committee on the Punjab situation.

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62. The Andhrapatrika, of the 4th May, publishes in Telugu what it calls the invaluable opinions of Mr.Gandhi under the Headings, "why I have joined the Khilafat movement", "Non-co-operation", and the "Swadeshi".

Mr.Gandhi's opinions.

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63. Condemning, in its leader under this heading, Mrs. Besant for calling the nationalists "wreckers" and Mr.Satyamurti for calling the moderates Rakshasas, the Kistnapatrika, of the 1st May, observes as follows, in the course of a comparison which it institutes between the nationalists and the moderates in connexion with their methods of work:--The moderates also oppose the arbitrary acts of the Government, but there are limits to their opposition. They do not carry on their opposition to the extent of incurring the displeasure of the Government.

The wreckers.

They pray and if their prayers are not granted they protest. To do any more is, in their view, extremism and precipitateness, Not so, the nationalists who do not believe, like the moderates, that any Government will alienate their powers to the people, out of charity. People secure privileges only when they can reduce the Government to straits, and make them feel that the concession of powers is inevitable. It is only then that privileges are earned and not received as a gift. The sooner we can bring popular power to a focus, the sooner is complete self-government secured........The English Government is constitutional since it consists of an organ through which popular opinion can control the executive. In such countries reforms are brought about without revolution unlike in countries such as Russia lacking such a constitution. It is for this reason that in India also some anarchist conspiracies made their appearance now and then. Repression cannot put them down, it can only effect temporary relief by sending discontent underground only to come up with redoubled force. If sedition and revolution are to yield place to evolution in any country, it must be granted a consitution by means of which public opinion can control the executive.

The new reforms, ~~xxxxxx~~ however small they may be, have afforded some scope for carrying agitation from the Congress platform into the Council Chambers. Our representatives have secured half the number of seats in the Provincial Legislative Councils. We shall never leave these, but shall soon secure the rest by using popular power. If the executive yields to popular power, it is well and good, for then we shall have complete self-government in the provinces without the help of the Parliament. If, on the other hand, they choose to take their stand on their power, we will create "dead-locks" and show to the world the

character of British bureaucracy. This is nothing but constitutional. Popular power in all civilised states is based on such an organisation. The moderates also want to carry on agitation. Then, why should they not avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by Legislative Councils for consitutional agitation? Nationalists, who have recourse to such constitutional agitation, may be "workers", in Mrs.Besant's view; but they will be worshipped by their posterity as the givers of swaraj. Some tact is needed in politics, but it should not be such as is bereft of spirit, and is calculated to enfeeble popular power. The Legislative Councils may be led at will, so long as franchise is withheld, but they cannot be trifled with hereafter. If, however, our representatives depend only on the favour of the bureaucracy, the people cannot at all be trained to democratic ways. Such a training only consists in preparing them so as to control the executive, and make it responsible. May the voters elect such spirited men and show that the Indians are fit for self-government! The resolution of the Amritsar Congress also gives this message. Whatever difference of opinion may exist on other matters, it is proper that elections should be made on this principle.

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68. Referring to the report that Mr.Kelkar, the Editor of the Mahratta, has settled by calculation that 23 out of the 193 crores of the income of India is made over to the people by the reforms, the Desabhimani, of the 25th April, observes in a note:--If a eighth of the income of India is made over to the management of the people in 150 years how many centuries must lapse before people gain charge of the remaining seven-eighths? Shall absolute Government hold its sway till then; or is there any immediate means of salvation for India?

Reforms.

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72. The Sampad Abhudaya, of the 4th May, observes:-- History tells us that in the days of Nadir Shah, the residents of a whole street were put to death in order to avenge the murder of a single Moslem in it. The Amrita Bazaar Parikam referring to the martial law administration in the Punjab, has described how the people were put to unspeakable suffering and humiliation. We do not wish to translate the accounts published by this paper, as we fear this will considerably lower the British in the eyes of the people. But it is the duty of the British Government to remove these blots on its name caused by the Lieutenant-Governor O'Dwyer, General Dyer and Lord Chelmsford and vindicate British justice.

The Punjab affairs.

Genl 73. The Kanthirava, of the 27th April, writes:--

Poverty in India.

Many British authors have written on the subject of Indian poverty of whom Sir Moore is one. The book is by no means the outcome of the author's solicitude for the welfare of this country. Nevertheless it contains some passages from which it is easy to see to what dire extent Indian poverty is existent. The paper next quotes some extracts from Sir Moore's 'Indian Studies' to the effect that the Indian ryot is steeped in perpetual poverty and is ground down by the landlord who takes away nearly three-fourths of the produce, and then the usurer who helps him in his distress but holds him in his clutches for all time, and thirdly the village officers who always try to fleece him, and to add to these ills there is the periodical revision of the land-tax which throws him over head and ears into misery. The paper next remarks: It is true that a number of English authors have written on the subject of Indian poverty. It is also true that some of them have thus become rich by their writings. But the question is how many of them have used their wealth and position in warding off this dire poverty.

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75. Referring to the speech of the Maharaja of Kolahpur on this subject, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 3rd May, in an English article, writes:--"He says that they are contemptible who entrench themselves in the sacred precincts of religion. He makes himself contemptible by this stupid statement; What does he mean by such an expression of sacrilege? Such outrages to things divine, holy and spiritual carry their own punishment. The punishment is not ordinary. It is one that damns the offender to a perdition, escape from which becomes impossible. By trying to make the advocates of caste and religion contemptible, the Chatrapathi has made himself irretrievably contemptible. The Chatrapathi says that he has become the guide of the people in translating them to a social heaven on earth because his conscience has dictated it to him as his duty. There are many in the Lunatic Asylum who think that they are the emperors of the world. They think that their conscience tells them that they can secure the salvation of the world if they assume its dictatorship.........What a poor Chatrapathi we have in the Maharaja of Kolahpur".

The abolition of caste system.

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76. Referring to the existence of a number of political parties in India at present and their constant mutual recriminations, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 30th April, observes:--

Party politics in India.

In fighting for the nation's uplift most selflessly, the Hindu was second to none in South India. But even here the evil seed appears to have found a congenial soil. With the Lokamata Annie Besant and her New India on the one side, with the Justice sowing the seeds of the Brahman-non-Brahman quarrel on the other, we find every one casting a lot of mud over his opponent and by these 'Billingsgate' orations and newspaper articles the people are very much affected. We are not in a position to understand whether the new Legislative Council will be only of the nature of a District Board or a Municipal Council in a magnified form, or like Kumbhakarna (the perpetual slumberer). When such a fear is staring us in the face, we cannot help regretting that these papers are yielding themselves as instruments to these party politicians who will stoop to anything to serve their own party ends. This is only a rank abuse of the newspaper columns, a beating in the air which is entirely useless. We sometimes think it better to allow the extremists, these vain people who boast of establishing the best rule in the land, to have their own way in giving effect to the slightly increased powers we may get under the new reforms. We are sure that these people will learn something of the arduous nature of administrative work when the keys of the empty coffers are put into their hands.

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78. Referring to an incident in the Bombay Presidency where a few respectable Indian ladies travelling in a second-class compartment Reserved for ladies' from Nasik were compelled the leave that compartment by the rude and unseemly behaviour of European Military officer, Captain Butler, a correspondent in the Kerala Patrika, of the 1st May, says:--Alas! Is it against the weaker sex that a Captain in the army, wearing the King-Emperor's uniform and pledged to protect people from invasion, should unlawfully use his authority? Can such persons be called 'civilised'? Is their position not below those of the Negroes? In any case this incident must attract the attention of the authorities.

The rudeness of a Military officer.

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79. In an article under the heading 'Bolshevism', the Sahodaran, of Kumbham 1095 M.E. (February-March 1920), points out that the chief tenets of Bolshevism are the nationalisation of ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ wealth, the destruction of social inequalities, etc., that the present deplorable condition of Russia is an instance in point to show that Bolshevism, even if its objects were good, cannot establish itself firmly in this world without the perpetration of cruelties and atrocities, and that therefore the world hates Bolshevism, but it gained such ascendancy in Russia that even the English have had to recognise Russia as a Bolshevik country. Referring to the apprehension of some people that Bolshevism may find its way into India through Afghanistan, the paper remarks that those who know properly the real conditions of India are sure that there is no danger

Bolshevism and caste.

of Bolshevism entering India. Continuing, the article observes:--But we have to learn an important lesson from Bolshevik Russia. It was in Russia that the people suffered most from the unbridled sway of autocracy, and it was there that Bolshevism, such as never appeared in any civilised country, sprouted and fructified. The most cruel oppression of the people will be followed by a reaction most deplorable in its consequences. Caste oppression in Kerala has now become most intolerable. Not that the oppression has now become xx greater than it was in former days. But as a result of education those who are oppressed have now begun to feel more keenly the effect of that oppression. Who knows what the terrible consequences will be if the serpent of caste should turn round and sting (the oppressor instead of the oppressed). The chief seats of caste differences, such as Cranganore, Tali, Vycome, Alleppey and Trippunithara will do well to learn carefully the object lessons of places like Tannisseri. If what history shows will not be noted history will show it again. It will repeat itself.

For the week ending 15th May 1920.

NO. 20 of 1920.

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Khilafat question.

4. The Swadesamitran, of the 4th May, reproduces in Tamil the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference held in London on the 12th April 1920 under the auspices of Anglo-Moslem League, London.

The Khilafat question.

The Desabhaktan, of the 6th May, publishes in Tamil Summary of the speech said to have been delivered by Mr. Shaukat Ali at Patna on this subject.

The Khilafat question.

Writing on the same subject, the Desabhimani, of the 1st May, observes that the efforts of the Muslim world to get their freedom established are certainly worthy of attention. The leaders of Hindu society are ready to co-operate with them and to help them.

The Malayali, of the 5th May, points out that the Khilafat deputation has met with disappointment everywhere, that it is extremely painful that the Peace Conference should have refused to hear them, and that it is unjust and not conducive to tranquility that the European powers when considering the Turkish question should evince religious fanaticism and not pay heed to the wishes of the Indian Muslims who have been chiefly instrumental in overcoming the Turks, and says:-- It has caused intense pain to the friends of the allied powers that they should have accepted the principle of the German leaders that might is right. The Premier of England

is the leader of the British Empire and we never even dreamt that this leader would deliver speeches absolutely discarding the representations of the people of India, an important unit of the Empire hold secret consultations at the Peace Conference and send forces to occupy Constantinople. The efforts of the Indian Muslims everywhere proved abortive, and the Christian Powers have with a single blow destroyed the importance of the Muslim world. The life of the Indian Muslims has nowbecome dishonourable. How can such a large community put up with such disgrace? But what else can they do? The promises of Premiers are like lines drawn on water, and the declarations of leaders of communities are ~~xxx~~ delusive. It is in this way that injustice increases in the world. It is not at all surprising that the love of the subjects of the British Empire towards the Empire should disappear when the British Government, forgetting their duty towards Indian Muslims and violating their repeated promises join with the other European Powers and parcel out the Turkish Empire among themselves. Now a movement has been set on foot that neither the Muslims nor their sympathisers should co-operate with the Government. If the Government of India has no freedom to do anything in the Khalafat affair, then the proposed non-cooperation is not at all desirable. But considering the declarations of Mr.Lloyd George which display autocratic instincts it is not wrong to exhibit their disappointment in this matter.......We do not find any other device for redressing the grievance of the Mussalmans except this.

The Khilafat agitation.

In the course of an article in English communicated to the Sampad Abhyudaya of the 7th May, a correspondent writes:--

"The Prime Minister of England and the Secretary of State for India gave certain pledges and

induced the Muhammadans of India to aid the allies when victory was dubious and was hanging in the balance. It is the duty of the British Empire to redeem the promise. Even individuals cannot afford to risk their credit by going behind their pledges. Those who have the responsibility of empires can never afford to go behind their solemn promise! The history of the rise, progress and decline of individuals as well as of kingdoms and empires go to illustrate the truth of the maximum that even gods are responsible for their actions and nemesis will overtake the law-breaker in their criminal career. It is the duty of the Indians to awaken the responsible British statesmen to the sense of their high and imperial duties."

The Khilafat agitation.

The Sreevazumcode, of the 8th May, remarks that the Prime Minister's reply to the Khilafat deputation was not in the least encouraging or satisfactory. It believes, however, that though a cowardly time-serving spirit may be evinced by some Englishmen, it has not infected and will not infect generally the Ministers of England, and that Great Britain and the Peace Conference will not hesitate to grant the prayer of the Khilafat deputation "at least in consideration of the benefits and help received in several ways from Turkey and particularly from Muhammadans."

A correspondent, writing on "Indian Affairs" in the Malayala Manorama of the 4th May, points out that the Khalafat agitation is altogether meaningless and unreasonable in its contention that Turkey should go unpunished, and observes that the Hindu-Muslim unity is going to break itself to pieces by its association with the fatal error of the Khilafat programme of resisting the Government.

A long leading article in the same paper on the Khalafat question reviews the demands of the Khalafat Committee and the San Remo settlement, and remarks that it is certainly impossible to concede in their intirety to the Khalafat demands, and that it is not easy to place Mecca, Medina, and other holy places under Turkish control. The article points out the superiority of Arabia over Turkey in the matter of its history and traditions, that secular sovereignty is not inseparable from the religious sanctity of the Khalif, and that it is to be doubted whether the importance ascribed by some people to the Khalif, ~~and that it is to be doubted whether the importance ascribed by some people to the~~ Khalafat is not ~~gre~~ greatly exaggerated. The hope is expressed, in conclusion, that non-Turkish Muslims will attach greater importance to their political standing than to their religious attachment to Turkey and will work whole-heartedly for the good of their own country.

(h) Railways.

26. Military men in railway carriages. Remarking that news is daily received of military men giving an exhibition of their valour in railway carriages, the Desabhaktan, of the 6th May, refers to some Gurkha sepoys, who were travelling without tickets in the mail train going to Darjiling, having recently belaboured a student in the same compartment with them, because he had a conversation with a ticket examiner and the latter soon after collected the railway fare due by them and says:-- It appears the Police, to whom this information was given, could not arrest the sepoys, as the latter threatened to kill them. If this information is true, we ask whether they would be let off with impunity? We think it will be desirable if military men are made to travel in compartments specially reserved for them.

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27. Europeans in railway carriages. Referring to the information furnished by a Kallidakkurichchi correspondent that, at the Tinnevelly Bridge railway station, he was prevented from travelling in a first-class compartment by a European who was already in it and that he had to take his seat by force, the Swadesamitran, of the 8th May, observes:--What if the Railway companies empower the guards to compel such passengers, whoever they may be, as appropriate to themselves almost the whole of a compartment and refuse accommodation to others, to get down on the way? It is only then that the highhandedness of the Europeans will be curbed. Some of them make a lot of fuss in railway carriages. When will this trouble cease?

(k) General.

30. Referring to a statement said to have been made by Mr. Joshi, who represented India in the Labour Conference at Washington, in ~~the~~ a recent lecture of his at Bombay, that it was not right on the part of the conference to have recommended that ten hours a day should be fixed as the maximum number of working hours in India, while the 8 was the figure it recommended in the case of other countries, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd May, says:--It ~~xxx~~ is not known what steps are being taken by the Government of India to curtail the working hours in India at least to 10? Perhaps the recommendation of the conference will be confined only to paper! By curtailing the working hours of the labourers, the profit of the capitalists will be affected and so the latter adopted policy of moderation, feeling certain of their profit, through the favour of the Government. But the labourers are nationalists. So it remains to be seen whether the Government will act against the moderates, who are helpful to them, and approve the recommendation of the conference. If only 8 hours' work is possible in other countries, it should be less in India, which is a very hot country and causes weariness soon. So the conference ought to have recommended work for a shorter period. But the majority of the members in the conference should have been persons interested in the capitalists and representatives of the Governments, who are under special obligation to the capitalists, and the cause of the labourers would not therefore have been set forth properly. So the labourers should agitate, without accepting the recommendation of the conference, and claim the curtailment

Condition of labourers in India.

of working hours as has been done in the case of other countries. Mr.Joshi expressed his regret at the capitalists being averse to the formation of labour associations and stated that, in the opinion of the capitalist, it is the educated classes that set up the labourers to form themselves into unions. But if the educated classes fail to do this, their education goes in vain. It appears some officials are also so shortsighted as the capitalists in this matter. We have to infer that they are not in favour of people outside particular professions taking part in organisations relating to those professions. As soon as the Police Union was started in Madras, associations seen to have been formed in some places in the Salem district, with Police officials at their head. We do not know how far these associations will prove beneficial. Will any Police Inspector, as the head of a Police Union, boldly represent to his superiors the grievances of the subordinates? If outsiders are connected with the associations, they will try to ventilate the grievances of the members and remedy them. Until the labourers become competent to recognise their own rights, it is only the outsiders that are fit to open their eyes.

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31. Referring to a communication of Saint Nihal Singh, in which he has indicated the probable lines of the report of the Hunter Committee, the Desabhaktan, of the 4th May, observes:--It pains us to learn that the European and the Indian members of the Hunter Committee will publish independent reports. We understand that the European members will condemn the actions of General Dyer but will leave the action to be taken against him to the Military Department. Should this prove true, it is certain that discontent will come to stay in India. It is stated again that the European members will justify the introduction of martial law in the Punjab on the ground, that there was a serious rebellion there, while the Indian members will opine that the disturbance in the Punjab was only a slight one and was quelled even before the introduction of martial law. If the European members should say that martial law was necessary on the strength of the evidence before them, we fear their inquiry will turn out to be useless. We are anxiously awaiting the report of the committee and our only questions are whether, as a result of the recommendations therein, Lord Chelmsford will be recalled and Sir Michael O'Dwyer will be punished.

Report of the Hunter Committee.

Anent the inference of the Daily Mail that this report will not be a unanimous one, the majority coming to one decision and the minority to another, the Desabhaktan, of the 10th May, writes:--It is the view of the majority that will attract the Government and this majority is not in our favour as is predicted by the Daily Mail. If this is true, we will also predict that the

The report of the Hunter Committee.

report of the committee will not confer the benefit we expected from it. We do not know what basis there is for the remoured conclusion of the majority that the Punjab disturbances were due to Mr.Gandhi. The world knows that the actions of Mr.Gandhi will never lead to any disturbance. As a matter of fact it is the attempt of some to counteract the effect of the arrow of Satyagraha aimed by Mr.Gandhi to do away with the Rowlatt Act, that led to the Punjab trouble. If the bureaucracy likes, it can promote rebellion or suppress it. It is the fiendish nature of Sir Michael that eventually led to the Punjab massacres. So, to say that Mr.Gandhi was the cause of the Punjab disturbances is to lascerate the mind of the sons of Bharata which has already been wounded by these massacres. If the inference of the Daily Mail proves true, the report of the committee will disturb the existing peace in India. The above paper says that the majority of the committee view that the introduction of Martial Law is justifiable. If this is a fact, Sir Michael 'O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford will not be deemed guilty. But our case cannot succeed unless it is proved that the introduction of Martial Law is not justifiable. The majority appear to condemn some of the actions of General Dyer. But this condemnation alone will not pacify the Indians.

The same paper refers in its issue of the 11th May, to a statement of Mr.Montagu in Parliament that the Government did not intend to publish the evidence given in camera before Hunter Committee and observes:--This means that several important points elicited by the committee will not reach the world, and if so, how are the people to decide whether the conclusion of the authorities is just or not. We would say that, instead of publishing the report of the Hunter Committee without the evidence taken in camera, it is better not to publish the report at all. Sir Arthur Henderson,

the Labour Member in the British Parliament, says that, if iniquitiesx such as those committed in the Punjab had been committed in England, the Government responsible for it could not have been in power even for 24 hours after that. But what happens in India? Dyer, who behaved unjustly in Amritsar, has just now gone to England and he has not yet been tried. As for O'Dwyer, who was at the bottom of all the Punjab iniquities, though he left this place, he came back holding a high office and he is still deemed in England to be a great statesman and the Saviour of the Punjab. It is more than a year since the incidents in the Punjab occurred and it remains to be seen whether the main culprits connected with it are going to be punished or thanked and rewarded. This is the condition of India with a population of 33 cores.

The Hunter Committee.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 8th May, says under this heading:--If the Daily Mail's forecast is correct, the majority report of the Hunter Committee cannot but stir the indignation of the people from one end of the country to the other. Indians cannot bring themselves to believe that there was any rebellion or that the disturbances were caused by Mr.Gandhi's teachings. Whatever may be the report of the Hunter Committee, the truth has been published to the world. Perhaps the Hunter Committee has been no connexion between the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the subsequent disturbances of the Punjab.

The Hunter Committee's Report.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 10th May, says under this heading:--The replies of Mr.Montagu to questions put in the Parliament do not satisfy anybody........He evaded giving a proper answer to Colonel Wedgewood who asked him if General Dyer might not be tried by a court-martial. It is certainly unjust to agree to his resigning his office at this juncture.

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32. Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai on the present situation.

Quoting extracts from a lecture recently delivered at Allahabad by Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai on this subject, the Swadesamitran, of the 4th May, writes:-- He made a definite assertion that the moderates are bound to feel disappointed in expecting to gain much by their policy of entreatly and that he has learnt by his experience for the last six years that the ruling race will not be prepared to grant powers to the ruled, unless the former is convinced that the withholding of such powers would be prejudicial to its own position. Even the British obtained powers only by bringing pressure to bear upon the authorities. It should be borne in mind that, as stated by the Lala, there is no philanthropy in politics. It will be only a day dream on the part of the moderates to hope that they can get to a further slip in the reforms by proving their efficiency in working out the instalment now granted. The British statesmen should have been aware that the Indians have the capacity even now to look after the affairs of their country. So, if the grant of powers is to be based on capacity, they should have been granted to the Indians by this time and it will be foolishness to expect that what the authorities have not given now, they would give hereafter of their own accord. Unless an incessant agitation is carried on so as to impress upon the authorities that they cannot but grant power to the Indians, we will have to continue only in the same state in which we are now, or may perhaps have to come down a step lower.

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33. Reiterating its view that, though the existence of different parties is indispensable for the progress of the country, the parties that have appeared in India now will not conduce to her progress, the Desabhaktan, of the May, refers to the annual meeting of the Madras Liberal League and concluding from the meagre attendance threat, that the moderates have very little following, observes:--A new spirit has now dawned throughout the world and many small countries that were for ages weltering in serfdom, are beginning to have a thirst for liberty. The time is past when the strong were keeping the weak under subjection and none can deny that the European war taught a good lesson to many. The queen of the world, clad in a new garment, sees us with a new angle of vision. Is it proper for us to look at her with the old vision? It is surprising indeed that some of our brethren are preaching moderation after the termination of the European war and when the whole world is turning topsy-turvey. Many interested in the progress of India are grieved to see some advocating the moderate cause even after twenty years have passed in the twentieth century, after the introduction of the Rowlatt Law in India and after the lapse of one year since the Punjab massacres.

The moderate party.

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38. Referring to the news announcing the appointment of Brigadier-General Campbell in place of Brigadier-General Dyer, the Desabhaktan, of the 5th May, says:--

Brigadier-General Dyer.

This news has not made it clear how General Dyer of Jallianwallah Bagh fame vacated his post. Have the authorities removed him from his office, or has he given up his post of his own accord, or has he resigned it under the orders of the authorities or has he gone on leave prior to retirement? We have to characterise as crafty the action of the authorities in not publishing clearly the cause of his leaving India before the publication of the report of the Hunter Committee.

The Desabhaktan reverts to this subject in its issue of the 6th May, and remarking that it is clear from the conversation of General Dyer with the representative of the Daily Mail that he was summoned by the Government to go to England, observes:--The arrogance and fiendish nature of General Dyer have not yet changed. He still boasts of his monstrous acts in Amritsar within the space of 30 seconds. His words show that he has somehow got an inkling of the decision of the Hunter Committee, though its report is not yet out. The Government should officially state what for General Dyer has gone to England; for it is the wish of the Indians that he should be punished in India itself. He is deceiving the people in England by stating that his actions are upheld by the Englishmen in India. It is not known which Englishman supports the actions of that hero. The Times of India, an Anglo-Indian paper, has on the other hand, refuted his statement. Will the latter, who did not hesitate to commit murder, hesitate to utter falsehood? In this connexion, it is an insult offered to India to allow Lord Chelmsford, who lent his support to the Punjab massacres, to continue as

Viceroy. The Indians are of opinion that Lord Chelmsford should be included among the officials concerned in these massacres. India is expecting British justice. The report of the Congress sub-committee is quite sufficient for her. Whatever may be the decision of the Hunter Committee, we will not mind it whether the Government find out the truth from it or not. Mr.Montagu should appease the Indians without unnecessary delay. India considers that Lord Chelmsford, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Dyer and others are guilty. The rumours afloat about the inquiry of the Hunter Committee and the words of General Dyer show that there is a difference of opinion between the European and the Indian Members of that committee. Taking advantage of such a difference of opinion, the Secretary of State should not let off the culprits easily. He should make mention of the report of the Congress sub-committee also before Parliament as, by ignoring it, he would be ignoring India itself. So we request him to pay heed to that report also. Secrecy will lead to danger.

The Swadesamitran, of the 6th May, also quotes the different reasons assigned by the papers for the departure of General Dyer to England and the announcement of the appointment of a successor to him and says:--What doubt is there that the statement of the Pioneer, that General Dyer has resigned on account of ill-health, is a falsehood? When the bureaucracy is not willing even to appease the Indian mind in a way by declaring that General Dyer has been sent back to London on account of his having been guilty and when the Anglo-Indian papers are giving out that he left for London on consideration of ill-health, every one should perhaps take this to be a way of seeking the co-operation of the Indians!

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39. Referring to the complaint of the committee of non-officials appointed in Bengal for offering suggestions in connexion with the rules to be framed under the Reforms Act, that their opinions on several important subjects were not called for by the Government, that none of their recommendationswere accepted and that some important rules were not placed before them at all, the Desabhaktan of the 6th May, observes:--We do not know what the committee appointed in this Presidency is doing. It should be remembered in this connexion that all the members of the committee in Bengal belong to the moderate party. If all the subjects have not been brought up before them, why should the committee have been ~~appointed~~ appointed in this Presidency is doing. It should be remembered in this connexion that all the members of the committee in Bengal belong to the moderate party. If all the subjects have not been brought up before them, why, should the committee have been appointed at all? When are these measures intended to appease? What is the committee appointed by the Government of India doing?

Rules under the Reforms Act.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 6th May, also refers to this subject and remarks:- Our moderate friends get annoyed at the statement of the nationalists that, however eager they may be to co-operate with the bureaucrats, the latter do not reciprocate their feeling. The experience of the non-official committee in Bengal will serve to teach the moderates a lesson. These moderates have been murmuring against the opinion of Mr. Tilak, and others that, unless the authorities are ready to co-operate, any attempt to do so on the part of the people will be in vain. But what will they say now?

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 7th May, says with reference to the rules under the Reforms Act that the committee constituted in Bengal has not consulted even the mode-

Rules under the Reforms Act.

rates like Mr. Sarvadhikari and Mr. Mitter and that the authorities have not made mention of some of the suggestions of the majority. It will be well, says the paper, if the moderates now at least understand what co-operation with the Government means. The paper adds that if the moderates meet with some more disappointments of this nature, they will surely join hands with the nationalists.

Continuing its series of leaders under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 7th May, characterises the constitution of the Council of State as a queer one and says:- Those having the required qualifications to vote for membership in the council will be very few in the provinces and therefore this council wil represent a medley of men, forming a small minority in the country. These may, on account of their status, stand aloof from the community as a whole and they may not have any sympathy with the aspirations of the people. Thus there may be material difference between the Legislative Council which will represent the people and the Council of State representing the title-holders and others and there will, therefore, be no guarantee that all the Bills approved by the former will also be approved by the latter. Unless both these Councils agree, a Bill cannot be passed into law. Therefore the Council of State may operate as an impediment retarding the progress of the Legislative Council.

The Punjab disturbances.

47. The ARYA VYSYA, of the 1st April, giving a brief summary of the report of the Congress Committee as regards the Punjab disturbances, observes:- It would have been well if the report of the Hunter Committee had also been published . . . The people doubt whether the latter would be impartial. But we do not entertain any such mistrust. It should never be supposed that Lord Hunter will give an unjust decision. . . . The report of the Congress Committee discloses many frightful acts committed under the orders of General Dyer. The report shows that ~~the acts comm~~ Sir Michael O'Dwyer created an occasion for

the people to commit wicked acts and then he got them massacred... It is hoped that the Hunter Committee will make use of the evidence taken by the Congress Committee as the Congress Committee have made use of the evidence given before the Hunter Committee, so that truth, unquestionable, may be disclosed.

The Punjab unrest.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 11th May, says under this heading:--From a perusal of the India we can see what strong opinions have been expressed by English leaders regarding the Punjab 'Massacres'. Mr.Henderson, a Labour leader, has written that the Amritsar massacres may be compared to the outrageous sinking of the Lucitania by the Germans...... The English cannot be said to hace discharged their duty by merely expressing their disapporval. They must try to put their principles into practice.

Woes of women in Madura.

48. Referring to the sufferings of the women operatives of the Madura Mills who have been on strike for the past one month and remarking that it is one of the duties incumbent on the Government to relieve the misery of women the Desabhaktan, of the 8th May, asks what steps have been taken by the Government in this matter and observes:-- What is Mr.Paddison doing? Why have not his words prevailed with the mill authorities? Perhaps there is no rule biding the capitalist to abide by the words of the Labour Commissioner! If so what is the object of Mr.Paddison's existence as Labour Commissioner? What is the good of having offices without power? Is Lord Willingdon aware of the mill authorities at Madura having disregarded the words of the Labour Commissioner? We request him to show some compassion to the women sufferers at Madura at least hereafter.

50. The Swadesamitran, of the 11th May, publishes a lecture said to have been delivered by Mr.Subrahmanyia Siva at Negapatam on the 7th idem on 'India and the Khilafat' in the course of which he is reported to have made the following remarks:--The Christian States in Europe have, for a long time, been contemplating the expulsion of Turkey from Europe at any cost. The feelings of the Muhammadans have been wounded on this account. Why should the Hindus have any concern in this? The Muhammadans invaded India 1,200 years ago and conquered us in war. But the Europeans entered India for purposes of trade, and took over the administration. To divide us from the Muhammadans, they have been writing false stories of the latter having treated the Hindus very cruelly......If any danger befalls the Muhammadans, it will affect the Hindus also. If their religion is endangered, it will tell upon the whole of Asia and in turn upon the westerns.... In the recent Khilafat conference in Madras, it was decided that the Muhammadans should cease to co-operate with the Government, if any decision was come to prejudicial to the Muhammadan religion. Whatever may be relinquished by the Muhammadans should not be sought for by the Hindus. We, Hindus, should be prepared to go with our Muhammadan brethren in order to safeguard their religion.

Mr.Subrahmanya Siva at Negapatam.

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52. The Andhrapatrika, of the 5th May, says under this heading:--The nationalists and the moderates desire to get self government but disagree as to how and in what time they should get it. Mr.Tilak's programme clearly brings out the difference. Nationalists believe that India is fit for self-government even to-day and that she herself has the right to decide her scheme of self-government according to the principle of self-determination. So they will not keep quiet satisfied with the present political reforms. The moderates on the other hand think that salvation will come only through political reforms. The nationalists would not submit to the decennial test but will take their stand on the principle of self-determination and try to reach their goal within a period of ten years..........We cannot suppose that the wishes of the people will be fulfilled by the system of diarchy, and still less can we suppose that the words of the Ministers will be carried out- Under such circumstances, the members of the Legislative assemblies have to oppose, if necessary, the bureaucracy and see that the wishes of the people are given effect to. If that is not possible, they have to publish to the world that by a system of diarchy, the people cannot obtain self-government, and see to the passing of a new Reform Act in accordance with the principle of self-determination. Popular leaders should acquaint the civilised world with the aims of the Indians..........The Indians have to turn their attention to their national traditions. National self-government will be impossible without regard being paid to the vernaculars. The imparting of education through the vernaculars, the carrying on of administration in the vernaculars, the constitution of provinces on a language basis are the chief means of obtaining self-government at an

The means of acquiring self-government.

early date. It is the duty of everybody to encourage national education. The members of legislative assemblies should try to speak in them in the vernaculars. The authorities cannot then retard our attempts. We have to avail ourselves of this opportunity of the Reforms Act and see to the redistribution of provinces on a language basis at an early date. If need be, the people should resort to the Satyagraha policy and make every effort to see that they gain their point. The people should take the swadeshi vow as suggested by Mr.Gandhi and try to manufacture cheap cloth with swadeshi yarn.

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66. In its leader under this heading, the Hitakarini, of the 3rd May, observes to the following effect:--Mr.Horniman was denied the benefit of a trial and even after his deportation, no grounds have been assigned for it. ....What, then, is there wrong in people entertaining the idea, that ordinary people cannot enjoy any security under a Government who have accorded such a treatment to an enlightened and high souled-gentleman like Mr.Horniman, who is an ideal to westerners,and Indians? Mr.Montagu has shown indifference in this matter and his reply to Colonel Wedgewood is strange. The Indifference of the people is the cause for this neglect on the part of the Bombay Government and silence on that of Mr.Montagu. They must agitate as they have in the case of Mrs.Besant. Statesmen have acknowledged the fact that the power of Governments must yield to that of the people. Is Mr.Horniman's case an exception to the Royal Proclamation, or has the Bombay Government disobeyed it? There must be some meaning in Mr.Montagu affecting ignorance

Mr.Horniman.

of the details in the matter. Is this in his nature, or is it a secret of statesmanship dictated by his special policy in relation to India? People must carry on constitutional agitation for securing the release of Mr. Horniman. Reforms can have no meaning if the Government do not act in compliance with the wishes of the people.

~~73.~~ The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 7th May, writes:--Deducting out of a total 142, the 42 members

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72. Referring to the activities of Mr. Gandhi with respect to the Home Rule League, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 7th May, observes:--Mr. Gandhi has formulated a few observances to be followed by the members of this League (the Home Rule League), namely, the Swadeshi vow, the Hindu-Moslem unity in regard to the Khilafat, the adoption of the Hindustani as the common language of India, and agitation for a re-division of India into provinces on the linguistic basis. We are fully confident that under the leadership of the sage-like Gandhi, the Home Rule League will acquire fresh energy and strengthen the cause of self-government.

Mr. Gandhi.

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73. The Sampad Abhyuadaya, of the 7th May, writes:--

The Reformed Council.

Deducting out of a total 142, the 42 members representi/ng either the Europeans or Government, we have a hundred more that may form a union among themselves. The Europeans of Bengal seem to fear that their position will be shaky if the Indians do unite thus. The official members, though only 20m are always highly influential. They know well the ins and outs of the administration. They also know the secrets of Government. When each of these can rule a province by himself, we cannot believe that they will find it difficult to bring to their side the other members of the council. What is more, we have in addition to these official members, the twenty two European members who have wealth and a white skin to add to their status. Under such circumstances, one is surprised to hear the grumbling of the Europeans. Thus it turns out that the Europeans, though their number is small, have 42 members to represent them. The Hindus and the Mussalmans, on the other hand, have only 33 members. Even among these, there may be a number of moderates who will vote for the official side. And of the rest we do not know how many will side with Government. Thus the Europeans need not fear any loss of domination, specially because the really patriotic among Indians are very few. What the Europeans fear is the Hindu-Moslem*/as well, there is no room for any fear on the part of the Europeans that they will not be able to dominate in the Council. The fact that an ordinary Political Agent is able to treat many a native prince like his servant is enough

* unity. But there is no necessity for any such fear. It may be that men like Gandhi and Jinha are friends. But there are among both the communities men who strongly advocate their own cause even to the detriment of the other. When there is no lack of selfish and unprincipled men both among the Hindus and the Moslems

to show the power the Europeans are wielding. Having submitted to foreign rule for a long time, this servitude has been bred into the bones, as it were, of the Indians. To fight for justice and constitutional rights, a characteristic so common with the British, can never be acquired by an Indian.

The moderates and the Punjab affairs.

74. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 7th May, writes:--Lord Sinha and the other moderates are causing a blot on British justice. Hence they are condemned as being as much the enemies of England ~~xx~~ as of India. It may be easy to trifle with men, but it is difficult indeed to deceive God. We hope the moderates will think over this. The Amrita Bazaar Patrika expresses regret that Lord Sinha, Surendranath Bannerjee, and other moderates have applauded the recent actions of Government in the Punjab. But then are not good and evil found everywhere in nature? Of what use can it be then to feel sorry for this fact? We should rather be glad to see that wicked beings who would stoop to anything for their own material comforts are wiped out. We hope that this will come to pass.

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80. Referring to the news of the demand of a security from a newspaper at Delhi, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 7th May, writes:--The authorities in India seem inclined to inaugurate a policy of repression once again. Though the recent Royal Proclamation urges co-operation between the rulers and the ruled, the authorities in India do not seem to mind this very much. The rigour of the Press Act is once again in evidence. Restrictions are being imposed on the holding of public meetings, etc., at Delhi. If the news is true, surely the time chosen for the use of such high-handedness is very inapt in the light of the reforms just granted. Even if the paper did become objectionable (objectionable, it would appear, only to the Magistrate and not in a court of law) this is hardly the time for putting such a stringent measure into operation.

The Press Act.

For the week ending 22nd May 1920.

NO. 21 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.-- FOREIGN POLITICS.

Peace with Turkey and the Khilafat question.

1. New India, of the 15th May, commenting on the terms of the Turkish Peace treaty, writes:-- "A terrible blow has fallen on Islam in the practical destruction of its one powerfull State. Turkey in Europe is reduced to the fragment of the peninsula on which Constantinople stands bounded by the Chatalfa line. It is difficult to see what is left of Turkey-in-Asia, or how a regenerate Turkey can stand forth, as His Excellency the Viceroy hopes, in the future as in the past, a pillar of the Islamic Faith'........What is left of Asia Minor to which she is confined? And, worst of all, the Holy Places are under a British Commission under the League of Nations. The Khilafat question is said to be one for Muhammadans'; but the Khalifa is the custodian of the Holy Places, and these are now under non-Muslim custody; without army, navy, or air-force he could not guard them, even if they were nominally in his charge, and even that is not left to him'..............The stern question has now to be faced: What can the Mussalmans of India do? 'Mr.Gandhi's four steps of progressive non-co-operation are useless; they are designed to put pressure on the Government of India, but the Government of India has done its utmost. No paralysing of the Government of India would soften this harsh treaty, nor make the position one whit better. The steps would inevitably cause rioting and bloodshed, and innocent people, who have had nothing to do with the treaty, would be the only sufferers. The Allies, who are the culprits, would look on unconcerned."

3. The Hindu, of the 19th May, has the following:--

"The Truth about non-co-operation.

The Khilafat agitation.

"Our Anglo-Indian contemporaries, both in this Presidency and elsewhere, must be--and--certainly are--aware that the principle underlying the proposal (or even the programme) of non-co-operation is neither anti-government nor anti-British, nor anti-foreign. And yet they are making a tremendous dead-set against it, as if somebody has started it in order to set, not the Thames nor all the rivers of the world only, but the ocean itself on fire and deprive the British Government and Empire of the element on which their naval supremacy and predominance in the world depends.......The Government in India has often showed itself-sensitively and keenly responsive to the demands, fears, or even the fixed ideas and abominations of the Anglo-Indian community. Hence, if Indians do not expose the utter baselessness of their calumnies and accustations against their leaders' measures or views, they are apt to bring upon themselves undeserved sufferings of all kinds, as we know from frequent experiences in our recent history. Government's apparent calm is almost always, on such occasions, the precursor and symptom of the coming storm..........History abounds in cases innumerable of such conflicts leading ultimately even to civil war. Civil wars are invariably productive of intense and often widespread suffering, and are also often, otherwise sterile. But we learn from history that, sometimes at least, they lead to beneficial changes in the machinery of Government, as a result of popular success in the conflict with the ruling power, and so the cause of freedom is helped on to a greater or less extent. If the popular cause wins, its leaders are acclaimed as heroes, martyrs and patriots. If it fails their names are execrated and descend

to posterity as traitors, rebels, and enemies of mankind. All this is nothing but copybook political axioms, mere common places of history. Yet the representatives of Anglo-Indian opinion and Anglo-Indian selfishness cry out loudly, and even the more sensible of them suggest that the time has come for adopting the policy of repression only by military intervention, even in South India. They are already condemning, in terms more or less unmeasured, what they call the unwise tolerance' of the Government in permitting the Nationalists to carry on their agitation against the Indian Reform Act or on behalf of the Turks in Europe.......Neither the Nationalists, as a body, nor Mr.Gandhi and his personal followers, are likely to take one step in their programme of work or agitation without being convinced of its absolute need and safety. Moreover, the Government is too Argus-eyed not to know that they must both take and give warning when they see around them the signs and shadows of developing events. In no country in the world are revolutions or events leading to them, matters of common occurrence.......... Let all, whether Anglo-Indians or Indians, know that it is to the interest both of Government and the people in India that, as the cause of freedom advances, the reason for non-co-operation' as a popular creed or cry will cease, and no such developments of it as those already mentioned need be contemplated on one side, or anticipated with anything like concern on the other. Let them not, also, forget that non-co-operation in most of its aspects is almost always a natural step in the realisation of national freedom and should not be regarded as in any way destructive of the existence of society or calculated to embarrass a well-intentioned and conciliatory Government."

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

4. In a leader under this heading, the South Indian Mail, for the week ending the 10th May, observes:--"In the Madura Mills the strike of the women workers continues and the men are without work. The Mill authorities have made an attempt more than once to work the Mills but that ended in failure........

Labour trouble in Madura.

The question is one of honour and the situation has been clearly understood in its reality by the Madura public. From what we see, the public is determined to fight out the question most resolutely and while there is yet time, the Mill authorities, we trust, will see their way of finding out their error. One thing they should realise. The commercial European concerns should not think that they could deal with labour in the same way they had been doing sometime back and the labourers have awakened to a sense of their consciousness of power. In the case of the Madura Mills, it is well-known that the profits accruing to the Mill-authorities amount to more than Rs.15 lakhs a year and the labourers feel that that enormous sum has been the result of their labour. It is also well-known that all the Europeans employed in such concerns yet very fat salaries. The whole situation comes to this. Enormous profits are made by several European firms in this country which come back, in Dadabai Naoroji's words, in the form of capital. European workers find profitable employment and the large dividends are paid to the shareholders. This state of affairs is very detrimental to the economic progress of India, especially in view of the consideration that the Indian shareholders in such firms are very few. And there can be no doubt that the Indians are viewing this with great dissatisfaction,

in the face of the fact that the commercial European concerns are very influential with the Government, the Indians believe that they are helpless in the economic rebuilding of the country."

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5. Justice, of 18th May, in referring to the increases of pay given to the various Imperial Services, remarks:--

"Thanks! Mr.Montagu.

Mr.Montagu and the Imperial Services.

"Mr.Montagu is never so pleased in a ll his life as when he is creating for himself a halo of a reputation for hypersensitive fairplay and wringing from his genu-flexed creations, the Montagu-Moderates, thundering applause for his bold feats. New India goes into ecstasies; because the Secretary of State has refused his consent for a scheme of qualified conscription for the Europeans in this country. Never did a Secretary of state so openly side with Indian opinion and set his face against his own countrymen--ergo Mr.Montagu is a prodigy who must be venerated in season and out of season--a statue erected for him in every village and, like Orlando of old, his lovers are prepared to carve ditties on every tree and every stone.......For the poor tax-payer and the ryot who form the vast bulk of this country, life is not any more pleasant; because a sweet-lipped Secretary of State gushes with sympathy and smothers them with kind words with the hope of disturbing their placid pathetic contentment.

"While Mr.Montagu is lavish in his praise of things Indian and his so-called sympathy with us, he is even more

lavish with the poor tax-payers' money in enrighing those who are already flush with cash. The Secretary of State seems all sympathy for the poor tax-payer who often goes with one meal a day and with the same breath, or rather with one stroke of the pen, he gives princely increases of pay and allowances to all the Imperial Sergices........Does Mr.Montagu realise that he is taking the bread out of the poor tax-payers' mouth and starving out of their existence the poor toiling millions who have no tongue to give utterance to their thoughts?.........While the Nationalists are crying themselves hoarse over non-co-operation and the co-operating Moderates are shouting from the house tops of working the reforms to a successful issue by accepting ministerships on a pittance of Rs.5,000 a month, the game is giving on of selling the poor tax-payer. What do our friends care for such simple things as these so long as the charmer, Mr.Montagu, charms them away with a dramatic effusion now and again? The wearer only knows where the shoe pinches. And so we will add our humble tribute to our beloved Secretary of State and may he live long and continue long as Secretary of State to guide the destinies of this country and incidentally to look after the poor tax-payers' coffers!"

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Khilafat question.

7. The Desabhaktan, of the 13th May, publishes the proceedings of a public meeting recently held at Trichiniopy, at which one of the speakers, referring to the Khilafat question, is reported to have stated that friendly relations should be maintained between the Englishmen and the Muhammadan kings, if Bolshevik principles are not to spread in India, and added:--The Czar, who instigated the Balkan States to start a way, has been ruined. But what all we expect our Government to do is to take care that they do not lose our confidence.

The Swadesamitran, of the 18th May, reproduces in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held on the 13th idem at Dharapuram, at which one of the speakers is stated to have observed as follows about the Khilafat question:--The Europeans are bent upon ruining Turkey on the ground that the Turks have been killing the Armenians. But what have they done with regard to the Punjab massacres and the actions of O'Dwyer, Dyer and others, who have insulted the Indian community itself? It is here that the warriors, who fought for justice, should show their impartiality. It is inhuman to try to ruin Turkey by making a false accusation against her, actuated by some internal hatred. No Hindu or Muhammadan can tolerate this undignified attitude!

Khilafat Conference.

TheQaumi Report, of the 9th May, has reproduced a portion of the presidential address delivered by Shaik Mushir Husian Qudwai Sahib on the 1st May at the Khilafat Conference held at Faizabad.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 14th May, reiterates its protest against the non-co-operation resolution passed by the Madras Khilafat Conference and, remarking that one has to carefully consider about the hardships and dangers likely to result, from giving effect to the resolution, not only to the Government but also to the public, adds:--No serious inconvenience will be caused by the people resigning honarary offices, casting away titles and declining to serve as members of Legislative Councils. But it is certain that great harm will result to all those in civil employ that resign their posts and this will cause inconvenience also to the Government and the public. This resolution not only insists upon the present incumbents of offices resigning the same but also prohibits others from accepting these posts and will this not seriously handicap the administration itself? It is nothing short of foolishness to create such a situation.

The Khilafat agitation.

Referring to the report that as a protest against the "Unsympathetic settlement of the Khilafat question", 61 teachers in Multan declined to receive Government grants and that three honorary magistrates and a police peon resigned their offices, the Desabhimani, of the end May, remarks:--"From this may be judged how intense the public feeling is about the Khilafat question"

The Khilafat question.

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8. Reiterating the cry about the injustice of many of the European settlers in East Africa trying to drive away the Indians therefrom, the Swadesamitran, of the 14th May, quotes from the words of eminent British statesmen to prove that it was due to the trouble taken by the Indians in reclaiming the soil there and making the country habitable that the Europeans were able to settle there later and observes:-- It is on account of this service rendered by the Indians and the help given by them to the British to conquer German East Africa, that the Europeans there are trying to drive the Indians out of the country! It should be noted in this connexion that it is only for the last 20 years that the Europeans have been there and that they number only six or seven thousand, while there are about 40,000 Indians. It was definitely declared by the late Queen Victoria that the Indians in this colony should always have the protection of the British and should not be left under the control of others. Therefore, they have a right to demand that the Europeans who are hostile to them should be asked to leave the colony. But the Indians are claiming only an equal treatment with the Europeans. Though even this claim may be unpalatable to the Europeans, the British Government are bound to consider about the situation and act impartially. The world knows how a few Englishmen, who stttled in other countries for purposes of livelihood, have endangered the Empire itself by their untoward acts. So we hope that there will be no occasion for trouble again even in this twentieth century when several Englishmen are vaunting that they are establishing justice throughout the world. The leaders in England and the Indian deputation from East Africa have stated in their memorial to the Secretary of State for the colonies

The Indians in East Africa.

that if the Indians in East Africa are to quit the country immediately it will be ruined and the aboriginal tribes therein will become merged in barbarism. The interests ofthe Indians should, therefore, be safeguarded at least in view of the self-interest of the Empire and of the aborignial tribes in the colonies. Otherwise we fear the question may turn out to be one of racial struggle.

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11. Indians in South Africa.

Reiterating its view that the constitution of the Commission appointed to inquire into the condition of Indians in South Africa is not at all satisfactory, the Swadesamitran, of the 17th May, is greatly perturbed in mind by the false statements made by the witnesses before the Commission and quoting, as an instance, the evidence of Mr.Phillips, the President of the 'Association to get rid of the Asiatics in South Africa,' remarks that it shows that he is an ungrateful man, indulging in vain shameless talk.

(k) General.

26. In a leader expatiating upon the sincerity and courage of Mr.Gandhi, the Desabhaktan, of the 12th May, refers to his satyagraha vow and refuting the arguments adduced by some against satyagraha and remarking that, if the people follow the life of Mr.Gandhi and stick to his principles, they are sure to acquire swaraj, observes:--Is it not due to the action of Mr.Gandhi that the Rowlatt Act, which could not be put down by the efforts and the agitation of any, now lies rusted? Had Mr.Gandhi not started the satyagraha movement, this Act would surely have played havoc in India.

The Satyagraha of Mr. Gandhi.

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27. Quoting a telegram recently received from London by the Independent of Allahabad, that the recommendations of the Congress sub-committee in their report about the Punjab disturbances are, in the opinion of some members of Parliament and others, inadequate and that the All-India Congress Committee should reconsider these recommendations, the Desabhaktan, of the 13th May, observes that it is no wonder that the friends of India in England should have formed this opinion, and adds that it will be satisfactory if the authorities accept at least the generous recommendations of the sub-committee.

The incidnet in the Punjab.

The Desabhaktan, of the 19th May, reproduces an extract from the New York Americans strongly condemning the Punjab 'Massacres', while the Swadesamitran, of the same date reproduces in Tamil extracts from a leader in the Amrita Bazaar Patrika, comparing the attitude of

The Punjab "Massacres."

the Government of India in regard to these 'Massacres' with that of the same Government in connexion with the punishment of offenders in a real rebellion at Mallerkotla in 1872.

The Punjab disorders.

In its leader under this heading, the Desabhimani, of the 2nd May, writes to the following effect:--The report prepared by patriots like Mahatma Gandhi has been published. It is sympathetically reviewed by the nationalist and moderate papers. The Anglo-Indian papers affect to look upon it with indifference......... It is said that it will be translated into Tamil. No attempt has so far been made to translate it into Telugu. It is essential that the substance of it should at least be published for the information of the Andhra world. We undertake to do it so far as we can.......The committee have availed themselves of all sources and based their report on incontrovertible, reasonable and reliable evidence.......(The separate evidence gathered by Mahatma Gandhi on more horrible incidents, than are contained in these two volumes, the committee, with commendable liberality, refrained from publishing, at present.) Mahatma Gandhi has been carrying on correspondence with the Government with a view to get a satisfactory reply about them. This story of the Punjab massacres excites grief in those who are of a satwic temperament, indignation in those who are of rajasic temperament, and avengeful spirit in those of a tamasic temperament. The peculiar tortures described in the report cannot be realised unless experienced. They are xxxxxxxxxxxx unparallelled in the history of the world. The sorrows experienced by our heroic and valiant Punjab brethren were intolerable, their insult, unbearable, xxxxxxxx and the high-handed acts of the authorities, abnormal. If parallels are wanted, we must only refer to the acts of the

Rakhasas in the Puranas. The cruelty shown by them is savage and inhuman and is disgarceful to forest and brutal tribes. That the ~~the~~ disturbances ~~xxx~~ in the Punjab are no rebellion against the King Emperor, the evidence before the Hunter Committee itself shows. That these have not been committed at the instance of any enemy, the Government, admit......... The westerners killed by the Punjabis are seven in number and the property damaged but small. All this has been the work of an excited and illtempered section of the common people. This was a temporary outburst that subsided soon. It never blazed again even when the authorities tortured children and all before their very eyes. What more proof is wanted of their forbearance. The small area over which it extended shows that it was ~~xx~~ not done for subverting the Government.

The paper then institutes a comparison between this and the cold-blooded assassination of the sleeping sons of the Pandavas after the close of the Mahabharata war, and pronounces that this is more horrible and passes on to observe to the following effect:--The Punjabis are a valiant and loyal race that contributed a third of the Indian army. Is this to be their lot? Is this their reward? Is this gratitude?) In the face of this reason for indignation and resentment, the committee, true to their traditions, ask for punishment being meted out for the offenders, and do not long for their death, as Draupadi had done........Whatever may be the punishment meted out, justice must be ~~made~~ maintained for safeguarding their birth rights. It must be made plain that the life, property and honour of the coloured races are not in the hands of the white races.

In the course of a few verses under the heading 'General Dyer, the Jallianwalla Bagh hero,' a correspondent to the Swadeshabhimani, of the 14th May,

The Punjab disorders.

speaks of General Dyer as one who 'drank the blood of innocents who is cruelty incarnate, a murderer, one who trod under foot the honour ofthe Indian nation, and who might more aptly be styled 'Killer' rather than 'Dyer'.

Mr.B.G.Horniman

28, Referring to the correspondence that has passed between Mr.Horniman and Mr.Montagu about the deportation of the former and the reply of the latter that the final decision of the matter rests with the Government of Bombay, the DESABHAKTAN, ofthe 13th May, says:--There is no doubt that every one will get disgusted with the irresponsible way in which Mr.Montagu is behaving in regard to Mr.Horniman. It is really strange that both the Government of Bombay and the Government of India should be under the impression that the return of this one individual to India will unsettle this vast country. This itself is ample ~~of this one indiv~~ proof ofthe fact that the bureaucratic sway has not disappeared here, yielding place to real democracy. The actions of both the Secretary of State and the Government of India in respect of Mr.Horniman are thoroughly unjust.

Mr.B.G.Horniman

Referring to the reply of Mr.Montagu in the House of Commons about Mr.Horniman, the DESABHIMANI, of the 2nd May, remarks:--When the reply of the Secretary of the State for India is so unsatisfactory, need we mention about those of the Local Governments?

Report of theHunter Committee

31. Referring to the news communicated by a London correspondent to the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN that, as the report of the Hunter Committee is said to contain very serious remarks about the points brought to light in their inquiry and some of the methods adopted by the authorities to put down unrest, it will not

~~xxxxxx~~ be published at once but will be first scrutinised by a special committee of the Cabinet, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 14th May, says:--There is no doubt that the members of Parliament will get excited on reading the report, if it describes correctly all the iniquities committed in the Punjab. But, so long as Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not impeached and Lord Chelmsford is not recalled, we should take it that the officials in England have not understood the real ~~of~~ state of affairs.

~~xxxx~~
The Hunter Committee

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th May, raises the question as to whether it is the Government of India or the Secretary of State that appointed this committee and observes:--People thought in the beginning that, though the Government were against it, the Secretary of State appointed it, with due deference to public opinion. Then the Viceroy stated that his Government did it in consultation with Mr. Montagu. Now the STATESMAN says that it was appointed by the Secretary of State, against the wishes of the Government of India. If there is no basis for this statement, will the authorities deny it? If they do not do it, the suspicion of the people ~~xxxxxx~~ against the Government of India will be revived.

Never rely on the enemy.

35. In a note under this heading the VARTAKAMITRAN, of the 2nd May, observes:--The truth of this is borne out even by the present-day experience. For example, there are laws and regulations declaring that, as the Indians, the British and the colonials are all of them subjects of one Empire, Imperial preference should be shown in the case of all imports into and exports from India. But, if our people go to England, efforts are being made to prevent their being taught the industries there and the letters of Mr. Andrews ~~x~~ to the Press make it patent that ~~it~~ ~~it~~ the British subjects of the British Empire that conspire

to oust the Indians from East Africa and South Africa. So it is proved by experience that it will not help us to deem foreigners as our well-wishers.

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41. The position of labourers in India and elsewhere.

Referring to the news received that the labourers in Sydney have decided not to participate in the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who is now in Australia, on account of the Australian Government not having redressed some of their grievances, the Desabhaktan, of the 18th May, says:--If the Indian labourers are to do this, the whites will cry out that the former are wanting in loyalty and are also seditionists. What is the reason for this anomaly? It is nothing but that the skin of the Australian is white, while that of the Indian is black.

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43. Imperial preference.

Explaining at length the principle of Imperial preference, the Swadesamitran, of the 18th May, reiterates its view that the application of this principle to India will not benefit her and observes:--The major portion of the imports into India is from England and the major portion of her exports also is to the same place. So, if protective duties are to be levied for improving industries in India, they should first aim at saving India from the competition of England. Then again, when two industries are thriving well in two different countries, it will pay them to afford mutual concessions. But, in the case of India, it is only her capacity to raise raw products that is improved and not the number of factories. All the industries that can be worked in India are flourishing in England, which relies,

for improving those industries, upon the exports of India. Under these circumstances, it is a vain hope to try to improve the industries of India by means of mutual concessions. We have not an equal status in the Empire, and even the new reforms do not grant us the right of levying protective duties. Though some are inclined to believe otherwise, a perusal of the reforms dealing with this question will show that a number of conditions precedent are provided for the Secretary of State to consent to the levy of a protective duty by India. The question may then be asked as to why this principle of Imperial preference should be started suddenly now. It is not without reason. The effects of the war are hovering over Europe. Several industries have been ruined. America is making a big effort to expand her industries at the first opportunity. So there may be a strong competition in places where raw products are available and India stands foremost among these. Therefore, the present suggestion is made only to prevent other countires carrying away the raw products of India and it is the British industries that will be benefited by this. This policy of preference will enable England and the Colonies to get materials from India on more favourable terms than other countries. So the Government of India are evidently playing a part in this matter at the instigation of England. The committee appointed by the Imperial Legislative Council to consider this question have not ventured to make any final recommendation. But our duty is clear and it is indicated by the resolution passed at the meeting held in Madras last week, suggesting the appointment of a committee consisting largely of Indian industraialists and merchants, to ascertain and report the methods by which India can acquire the right of taxation and recommend measures for the speedy improvement of industries in the country. Will the Government act on the opinion of the Indians?

46. In a note under this heading the Desabhaktan, of the 19th May, refers to the sentence of rigorous imprisonment passed by the District Magistrate of Allahabad on one Moulana Muhammad Fakir for having delivered some strong speeches in connection with the Khilafat question of remarks:--

A true Muslim.

Considering the serious mishap that has befallen Turkey, it is not possible for Muhammadans to speak with patience on the subject now. So the authorities would do well to merely warn those Muslims who, in their opinion, trangress all bounds while speaking. So one can deem it wise that, instead of this, such persons should be asked to furnish security and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment if they refuse to pay it.

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47. The Desabhaktan, of the 19th May, refers elsewhere to the appeal made by the Secretaries of the All-India Khilafat Committee to all title-holders among the Muslims that they should relinquish their titles as a protest against the Khilafat question having been decided unfavourably to the Muslims, and observes:--Though Mr.Gandhi has included the relinquishment of titles in xxxx non-co-operation with the Government, it does not result in any loss or hardship either to the Government or to the holders of these titles. But it will demonstrate to the world the feelings of the Muslims as regards the present lot of Turkey. It is now five days since the treaty was published and no Muslim has yet relinquished any title. We do not think the relinquishment of titles is a great matter or is very necessary. But we wish very much that true Muslims, who sincerely believe that an injustice has been done to Turkey, should indicate their attitude to the authorities and the world by adopting at least this easy course.

Muslims and titles.

655 page no Missing.

51. A nationalist correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 12th May, says:--Every Indian should think in his heart, 'This is my country and this, my nation. I have each and every right here.' If such holy spirit spreads in the country and real and earnest nationalists are returned as members to the Legislative assemblies, the Parliament need not enact a new law giving us swaraj. If we can sink all our petty differences of caste and creed and elect nationalists as members to the councils, we will have self-government even from tomorrow. Under the system of diarchy, the Government and the Ministers will fall out with each other as regards finance. The latter should not yeild. If they yield to any the least extent, we cannot have any self-government at all. If with reference to any item of expenditure, the Ministers persist, they can create a dead lock and have it. The moderates will be reconciled with the Government ~~xtxxxx~~. ~~Ifxwithxreferencextoxanyxitemxxf~~ and say that they have saved the country from commotion. But friction between the Government and the Ministers and repeated re-elections in consequence thereof will greatly interest the people in a knowledge of politics and in political agitation. If therefore we send to the Councils Members who are not nationalists, the prospect of swaraj will recede, and we will be guilty of retarding the future progress of the country. If we are real patriots, we should elect to the Councils dispassionate nationalists who will not be influenced by fear or favour from the Government.

Nationalism.

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52. The Andhrapatrika, of the 13th May, publishes in Telugu the article of Mr.Gandhi on non-co-operation, appearing in the Young India, which contains:--Four stages have been suggested in co-operation. The Second, namely, the resignation of Government service must be resorted to when the first fails. But this is subject to certain limitation and should not be followed by all. The third and fourth stages contemplate only a remote contingency. Non-co-operation is the only means for the fulfilment of the desires of the Muhammadans without the infliction of pain. The ruled have a right not to co-operate with the rulers when the latter turn a deaf ear to the representations of the former. By non-co-operation, not only will the desires of Muhammadans be fulfilled, but the purity of the Hindu friendship will become manifest.

Non-co-operation.

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53. Under this heading, the Andhrapatrika, of the 13th May says:--Though by the influence of imperialists, England is hesitating to grant self-government to others, her people have been greatly agitated by the horrible events that took place in the Punjab. The English leaders have manifested their disgust threat and maintained their self-respect. Some sun-burnt Anglo-Indians, however, act in forgetfulness of their English traditions. However ardently a man may love freedom, he will ignore his old ideals when in the midst of dependent nations. A love of arbitrary power will fill his bosom. General Dyer stated that all the English in India have approved of his acts. But everybody will doubt if any Englishman will bring himself down to such a low level. We

Self-respect.

We have expected that the Europeans will deprecate the acts of General Dyer and maintain their own honour and the honour of their country. It is to be regretted they have not done so. The Times of India emphatically asserted that no self-respecting Englishman will approve of the words of General Dyer. For this, that paper has become the object of the resentment of the Pioneer, the Englishman and the Bombay European Association. It is to be regretted that after a short stay in India, Some Englishmen entirely forget their country's traditions, and love arbitrary power. We can guess how far these men will help in the carrying out of the coming political reforms. It is not possible under these circumstances for self-governing institutions to be established in the country. There is no use if the English leaders wake up now and then and say that injustice is being done. They will save their country's honour if they work with perseverance till arrangements are made to prevent the recurrence of such misdeeds.

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57. Under this heading the Andhrapatrika, of the 13th May, says;--Under the rules, resolutions may be rejected on the ground that they are opposed to public interests or that they have not much to do with the local government. Questions may also be rejected, on some such ground. Under such circumstances there can be no scope for advancement. The rule that the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly should be conducted in English is deplorable. But those who cannot speak English well may speak in one of the vernaculars. The Andhra members should take this opportunity to see that the proceedings are conducted in the vernaculars as far as possible. It is well that the Andhras should set an example in this matter. Rule 24 says clearly that the resolutions adopted in the Legislative Councils will only have the effect of suggestions. The Legislative Assemblies will have no more privileges than now, of which they can be proud. While such is the state of things in the provincial Government, what scope can there be for advancement in the central Government which is full of arbitrary authority? The Reforms Act is narrow and the rules thereunder render it still narrower. It will not be possible to reach the goal through the present Act at an early date. It is therefore the duty of the people to work to see that another law is enacted in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

Rules under the Reforms Act and their futility.

For the week ending 29th May 1920.

NO. 22 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

2. The following appears in the United India and Indian States for the week ending 26th May:--

The Khilafat question and the Turkish peace treaty.

Even the Government of India are willing to concede that the terms of the Turkish peace will not satisfy the just claims of the Indian Muslim world: it is only in this light that the Viceroy's well-meant appeal to Muslim loyalty to bear their trials of their religion in a calm spirit become intelligible. How far that appeal will bear fruit and bring peace to an agitated people, we do not presume to state at present. We know for a matter of fact that our Muslim brothers have taken the ruin of Turkey very much to heart and all ordinary worldly consolations are in their present condition of mind not very useful. It goes without saying that the hands of both Mr.Montagu and Lord Chelmsford's Government are clean so far as British Turkish policy is concerned. They pressed the Muslim point of view on statesmen at Home and in Europe with praiseworthy energy and sincerity. That their efforts were not successful was certainly not their fault but the Turk's misfortune. It is impossible, of course, to acquit British statesmanship of wrong-doing in this matter, because the Muslims of India believe and believe rightly that if Britain had only stood to her guns as the world's greatest Muslim power, the rest of the Allies would have taken the cue from her and instead of a hopelessly mangled Turkey we will still have had a Khilafat which is satisfactory to Muslim sentiment. English statesmen have clearly betrayed the true and best interest of Imperial solidairty by ignoring Indian

Muslim sentiment altogether and listening to the voices of national and selfish interests. The event has also demonstrated the utterly valueless character of the pledges which on behalf of England were given to Indian Muhammadans by responsible British statesmen. We are afraid that the moral harm done to the name of England by this performance is immense and will seriously involve Britain in misunderstanding with her Muslim subjects in India."

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

3. The Hindu, of the 22nd May, writes

The Indian Reforms Act.

"The Reforms Act unmasked.

"The official head of the Moderate party has borne testimony to the sincerit of the Government of India's zeal for real reformx in India. With a temerity which his led captains might admire but dare not emulate he once made the astounding suggestion that there was nothing reactionary about the Government of India's famous Despatch on the Bill. Another and equally notable monument to their zeal for democracy and the early realisation of self-government in India is to be found in the draft rules framed by them--with the valuable assistance and "co-operation" of Moderate luminaries--which we have already published in these columns. The rules of business of the Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils show up the Reform Act in its true character. To say that they are extremely reactionary is to use an undeserved euphemism. They make the position of these councils actually worse in some important respects than it now is.......With a Viceroy or a Governor, say like Lord Chelmsford,

and a President like Sir George Lowndes for instance, what hopes can non-official members entertain of fair play on the part of the Executive and of doing useful work on their own? In short, the double control over the procedure of the Legislatures by the Governor from outside and by the President his nominee, from inside, and the power, under the Act, for the Governor to stop debate or discussion at any ~~xxxx~~ stage on the ground of public safety and the power of autocratically enacting certificated legislation, complete, between them, the subordination of the legislatures to the Executive, rendering, as we said, the position in some respects worse than the existing state of things."

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5. The Hindu, of 27th May, has the following:--

"Whitewash.

The Hunter Committee's Report.

"At last the Hunter Committee's Report has seen the light of day and an apprehensive public has had its worst anticipations realised. It is whitewash, pure and simple, an apologia for crimes that in other circumstances would have provoked floods of indignation from the very persons who now attempt to gloss over the most serious breaches of the laws of humanity and civilisation. We publish elsewhere the summary, presumably official, of the report with the despatches of the Government of India and Mr.Montagu thereon. One understands better now Mr-Montagu's coyness in refusing to publish the Hunter Report earlier, for its flimsy attempts at condonation, its strange evaluation of evidence and the facility with which it jumps to conclusions unwarranted even by the facts that were presented to its contemplation, would not have borne the test of

public scrutiny. His anxiety, therefore, to take action on the report before its publication arose, it is now clear, from a desire to shield the whitewashers from the glare of public criticism and to face the public, British and Indian, with the accomplished fact in the question of punishment.......We believe we are doing no injustice to Mr.Montagu if we say that his action in publishing the report along with his despatch indicates an anxiety to draw the veil of finality over an unsavoury interlude--unsavoury not less in the manner of the inquiry than in the acts on which it presumed to pass unbiassed judgment. His despatch certainly reads better than the report, which is faint commendation perhaps, but is important as showing that where it suited his purpose Mr.Montagu, or to use the title employed in the despatch, 'His Majesty's Government,' was not squeamish about roundly disagreeing with the verdict of the committee. Our point is why if Mr.Montagu was convinced that the report was not unexceptionable at all points he did not wait for the additional illumination that public criticism upon the report would have cast upon the case before taking action, the pitiful inadequacy of which is an ironic commentary both on his anxiety to vindicate British honour and on the virtuous indignation into which he has occasionally been moved in the course of his despatch. Was he afraid that the British public--the Indian public of course does not count --would have demanded sterner measures against General Dyer than dismissal from his command and banning him from further employment in India?...........It is not without significance that the difference in the points of view represented by the majority and the minority reports---We should prefer to designate them, as juster, the British and the Indian-- is continued into the Government of India and that the Hon'ble Mr.Shafi has felt compelled to express dissent on many vital points from the view taken by his colleagues. The Hunter

Committee have enunciated a new theory of political jurisprudence; they have formulated a new code of ethics; they have discovered a new standard in the appraisement of massacres. In their eyes every disturnances is a rebellion, every measure is justified that achieves its immediate purpose and every murderer worthy of condonation if his motives are sincere. That the public expected nothing better than a committee which heard only one side of the case and which virtually made it impossible for the people's case to intrude its unwelcome presence upon its consciousness, in no way affects our considered opinion that the European members of the Committee have lamentably failed of their duty. They have sought excuses where their business was to unequivocally condemn; but far more serious are the implications of the new standards of assessment they have introduced, particularly on the questions of moral responsibility necessary force, the obligations of humanity and the definition of open rebellion. We hope to deal with these in detail in subsequent issues but we are certain that there is no shade of Indian opinion which will accept the special pleading of the majority report, or indeed regard it as anything else than the barefaced attempt to whitewash that it is, in preference to the conclusions of Indian members of proved judicial capacity and moderate views, reinforcing as these do in the main the conclusions arrived at, after monumental labour, by the Congress Sub-Committee. The Hunter Committee have betrayed a sacred trust at all the call of racial fellow-feeling in a manner that will provoke the bitterest resentment and indignation throughout the country."

The Hindu, of the 28th May, remarks:--

"A Scape-goat-of sorts.

"If the Majority report of the Hunter Committee is viewed in India with feelings of mingled indignation and despair, those

feelings are not mitigated by the opinions expressed by the authoritative voices of the European community. One despairs of any harmonious co-operation in the future between the two races when on so vital a matter, with issues so clearly defined, the ordinary standards of judgment are cast to the winds and the worst passions of racial prejudice are called into play. An India which was led to believe that there is no half-way house between right and wrong has now to learn that circumstances alter cases that what was sauce for the German goose is not necessarily sauce for the British gnader.
The prevailing opinion among the European community appears to be that General Dyer was butchered to make a Seditionists holiday.....Other instances of their enthusiasm for truth we shall come across latter. The case against General Dyer is based on these main considerations. The cold-blooded nature of the massacre; the fact that it was preconceived, if not pre-arranged by his murmidons: its continuance till his ammunition was exhausted; his callousness in leaving the wounded to their sufferings. In other words, he was guilty of a deliberate and calculated act of wholesale murder which he aggravated by callous brutality in leaving the wounded to their fate. The Hunter Committee condone the brutality because in the result it did not harm.....Is there a single English man bold enough to assert that because European lives might have been imperilled a massacre of such a nature was justified? And yet that is precisely what practically every Anglo-Indian paper, and doubtless the majority of the community headed by the apoligist of the Anti-Christ seeks to establish when they foam in the mouth over the ridiculous 'punishment' of a man to whom, when men's consciences are a little less warped, the future will assign a place in a gallery in which Attila, Nana Sahib, Nadir Shah and the numerous German exponents of 'frightfulness' are distinguished ornaments."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in East Africa.

8. Referring to the telegram said to have been sent to the Government of India by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, expressing regret at the Secretary of State for the Colonies not having given a proper reply to the deputation that waited on him on behalf of the Indians in East Africa, the Vartakamitran, of the 16th May, says: Though the head of the Government of India and Lord Milner are different persons, it should not be forgotten that their ideal is the same. Still let us do our duty and leave the rest to chance. The resolutions passed by a disunited India will only be cast to the winds.

The question of non-co-operation.

23. The Jaridah-i-Bozgar, of the 21st May, has a letter from a Muhammadan correspondent in which he discusses at length the question of non-co-operation with the Government, expresses entire dissatisfaction at the views of Mahatma Ghandi and other leaders, and remarks that it will least affect the Government acting on such an ill-advised policy, viz, returning decorations, giving up appointments, etc.; for, it will not only result in Muhammadans losing their ppesent appointments for good, but it will make future generations suffer for our misdeeds.

The correspondent, referring to the suggestion of emigration to Afghanistan, remarks that though it is premissible from the religious standpoint in an emergency, it is impossible to act up to it, for, they must understand that a smouldering ember in the shape of Bolshevism in Afghanistan ready to destroy our faith.

The theory of non-co-operation.

Remarking that, though the Indians have been agitating constitutionally ever since the country came under a foreign rule for regaining their lost liberty, the form of the agitation which was one of representation of grievances in a suppliant attitude has now come to be one of non-co-operation and adding that even this form of agitation is within constitutional limits and cannot be deemed to be seditious, the Desabhaktan, of the 20th May, writes:--It is certain that the pseudo agitation of the moderates who prefer a slavish life keep quiet realizing at least that a thirst for liberty is growing in the country. The moderates characterize those that agitate constitutionally for liberty as mischievous agitators and promoters of unrest. Such words open the eyes of the bureaucrats and put them on the alert. Now coming to the question whether the non-co-operation principle of Mr.Gandhi amounts to sedition, it can never be. If some true patriots cast away their titles and offices, their action will reach the public of England, who will do the needful becoming aware of the real condition of India. It is, therefore, unwise to say that non-co-operation will ruin the system of administration. It is natural for one to be bent upon following a righteous course to safeguard one's interests, actuated either by a feeling of independence or an aversion to slavish life or inability to stand a cruel treatment, and no one can prevent it. If the authorities wantonly resort to repressive measures, it may lead to serious disturbances. So the creation of unrest depends on the actions of the authorities themselves. Should the authorities act justly, nobody will agree to adopt the principle of non-co-operation. But if they act unjustly, wise people will resort not only to non-cooperation, but also to other courses. Therefore it is sure that the action of Mr.Gandhi will ~~purify~~ purify the administration. How can any disturbance occur as a

a result of those willing to do so resigning their appointments under Government or of the title-holders relinquishing their titles? What disturbances occurred when Messrs. Subrahmanya Ayyar and Rabindranath Tagore renounced their titles? We warn the Government not to proceed highhandedly without forethought in the matter of non-co-operation, just as they ruined Punjab thoughtlessly on account of the satyagraha movement.

The Swadesamitran, of the 20th May, and the Desabhaktan and the Hindu Nesan, of the 21st idem, reproduce in Tamil the letter addressed by the Hon'ble Mr. Yaqub Hassan to His Excellency Lord Willingdon resigning all the honorary offices held by him, and the Desabhaktan, of the 22nd idem, remarks that even those differing from him in views will doubtless admire his strong attachment to religion and high sense of patriotism.

The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd May, also refers to this resignation and, remarking that the very fact of a moderate like Mr. Hassan, whose principle has been to co-operate with the Government as much as possible, having relinquished his honarary offices as a protest ~~against the~~ against the settlement of the Khilafat question by the Allies shows how much the above decision has wounded the feelings of the Muhammadans, adds:--We highly appreciate his courage of conviction. News is received to day of the Hon'ble Mr. Burgri also having resigned his seat in the Bombay Legislative Council. If the leaders will show the way, others ~~others~~ will not hesitate to follow.

The theory of non-co-operation.

The Swadesamitran, of the 24th May, reproduces in Tamil the gist of an article of Mr. Gandhi in his Young India in reply to the letter of a European friend of his questioning the reasonableness

of the theory of non-co-operation when the Government of India have done all they could in the matter of the Khilafat.

Referring to the resignation of honorary offices by some gentlemen in the mufassal, following the example of the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hassan, the Desabhaktan, of the 24th May, expresses its appreciation of the Muslims, who think that a great injustice has been done to Turkey, exhibiting their feeling in this manner.

The same paper publishes the letter of Mr. A.K. Rahiman Khan Sahib of Tiruppatur resigning his office of Honarary Magistrate as well as those of four Muhammadan gentlemen in Tanjore resigning their honorary offices and the proceedings of a public meeting held at Tanjore on the 23rd idem at which the latter were read out, while the Swadesamitran, of the 24th idem publishes the letter of the Tiruppattur gentleman alone and the proceedings of the Tanjore meeting.

Non-Co-Operation.

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 20th May, writes:--A number of Khilafat meetings were held in Madras, and vows of non-co-operation, boycott and swadeshi were advocated. If non-co-operation is followed, will not others be appointed in the place of those who have up office? Moreover, will it be possible for all to resign and be quiet? The scheme will fail if the other Indians do not co-operate with their Moslem brethren. We must think well about the principle of non-co-operation. How many Gandhis are there among us who will give up all luxuries for the sake of the swadeshi and boycott principles? That is why India is in a degraded position today. We have no real patriotism in us; we only talk of it.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

28. Referring to the rules under the Reforms Act relating to the new Provincial Legislative Councils having been published in England as early as April, though they were published in India only a few days ago, the Desabhaktan, of the 20th May, says:--We think these rules are far more important to India than to England. But the Government appear to have a different view. We doubt if they deem the Indians to be human beings. But the authorities will publish matters they like both in England and India simultaneously. Do they ever act in accordance with popular wishes?

Rules under the Reforms Act.

The Swadesamitran, of the 21st May, refers to the rules framed under the Reforms Act and, remarking that they would not permit any progress being made and what has happened now is only a parallel to what occurred in the case of the Minto-Morley reforms, writes:--The Government of India is an unalterable machinery and its nature will not be altered, whoever may be the Governor-General and whoever may be the members of the Executive Council. If the rules now framed in connexion with the Provincial Legislative Councils are to be approved as they are by Parliament, which Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha are capable of securing, the status of the representative members in these councils will not be raised a bit by their enlargement. The President and the Vice-President of the Council will be nominated only by the Governor and, even in the absence of this President or Vice-President, ~~only~~ only one of the four individuals selected for the purpose by the Governor will have to preside. Thus care has been taken to see that

The rules under the Reforms Act.

President of the Council will always be the Governor's man. The existing power of the Governor to disallow questions adked for eliciting information about matters in which the public are interested is continued even under the new rules, as also his power to disallow resolutions. While the right of putting supplementary questions is now enjoyed only by the member who put the original question, the rules extend it even to others. But the President may disallow them. This applies also to Bills introduced. Thus the Governor will have the power of putting the popular representatives down from outside the council and the President appointed by him will have the power of doing so inside the Council. Is it not a mere dream, under the these circumstances, to make the Executive Government responsible to the Legislative Council? If a reference to any matter has to be made in the Council urgently, the previous permission of the Governor should have been obtained forit. The Governor is not a member of the council and his permission cannot be obtained all on a sudden. Moreover, will the Governors, who disallow questions and resolutions, find it difficult to invent some reasons therefor? The council has not been given proper powers in the matter of finance.

Rules under the Reforms Act.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 22nd May, says:--The Government of India have drafted the rules under the Reforms Act and sent them to the Secretary of State. No steps have been taken to consult public opinion thereon. As no Congress leaders had been included in the Rules Committees, the Government could not have known the public opinion in the matter. Excepting Mr.Spoor, the members of the Joint Committee constituted to revise the Government of India Act are not advocates of the aspirations of the Indians. We expected that liberal-

hearted men like Mr.Wedgewood would be appointed as members but we are disappointed. We cannot guess from the compsotion of the committee that there will be favourable changes in the draft rules. Under one of the rules, transferred departments may at the discretion of the Government be taken back from the people. Such an arrangement deprives the people of even the small benefit to be derived from the reforms.-........
A time limit of seven years has been fixed for reducing the unjustly heavy provincial contributions. After this period, the contributions will be fixed. It will be some consolation if after these seven years the provinces are required to contribute a definite sum. But the rules provide for the Governor-General requiring provincial Governments to contribute additional sums whenever necessary........From the rules, it does not appear that the transferred departments will have adequate funds. It will be difficult for the two Governments to come to an agreement in this matter. The decision of the Governor or any other officer cannot be favourable to the administration of the transferred departments.~~will have adequa~~
It is natural that more funds will be allowed to the reserved departments, and less to the transferred. The Legislative Council will not have much to do under such circumstances. Without sifficient funds for the transferred departments their administration cannot be efficient. As pointed out by Mr. Tilak, there ought to be a provision assigning funds equally to the reserved and transferred departments. So long as the transferred departments depend upon the favour of the authorities, they cannot but fail like the present day local self-government. The Ministers are not allowed any place in the Financial Department. This leads us to think that no scope is afforded for the co-operation desired by His Imperial Mejesty. The rules which may be said to be the very life of the reforms are very narrow. As they cannot secure sufficient funds for the administration by the Ministers, that administration

by the Ministers, that administration cannot be carried on with success. The people have therefore to work to see that a new Act is passed in keeping with the principle of self-determination.

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31. Memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Referring to the donation of Rs.20,000 given by the Maharaja of Patiala to this memorial, the Swadesamitran, of the 21st May, agrees with the leader in thinking that, though many are aware of the difficult position of the Ruling Chiefs in these matters, the latter are in fairness bound to atttach a greater importance to the feelings of their countrymen, than to their own difficulty.

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32. General Dyer.

Referring to the interview of General Dyer with the representative of the Daily Mail as soon as he reached England in which he is reported to have stated that, as he had not even thirty seconds to think and act in the case of the incidents at Amritsar and he and his men would hzve been killed if he had not shot down the crowd, he should be heard in his defence, the Vaisyamitran, of the 10th May, observes:--If this officer, who shot down thousands of persons without spending a thought over if for even thirty seconds, had exhibited the grace of the Christian faith and deemed the lives of thousands of persons to be more valuable than his own and that of the few with him, he would have secured an undying fame and added lustre to the benevolence of the English rule. If, as he says, even a commission

674 Page no Missing.

consisting of foreigners who have not the least experience of India has found him guilty, there is no doubt whatever that all sincere Englishmen, who are eating the salt of India, and all sincere Indians will clearly condemn his cruelty. No class, which cares for truth and justice, will support such cruel actions.

General Dyer,

The Andhrapatrika, of the 25th May, says:--Sir Joynson Hicks writes in the London Times that if General Dyer's acts are condemned, the military will not render help in future troubles. If not only the Anglo-Indians in India but also the people in England stoop to vindicate the ~~casts~~ acts of General Dyer, the Indians cannot but grow very despondent. If the English people mean to maintain their and their country's honour, they should despise the harsh words of persons like Sir Joynson Hicks.

The strike in the Madura Mills.

35. The Swadesamitran, of the 20th May, publishes the proceedings of a meeting of the strikers held on the 19th idem at which Mr. P. V. Hanumanta Rao is repoted to have stated that the mill owners, who have come here to make a living, should be made to give up their arrogance and act according to the words of the labourers and that these should not go back to work unless their grievances were redressed and Mr. Subrahmanya Siva is said to have remarked, referring to some of the strikers, having rejoined work that day, that it was all due to the tactics of the European and exhorted his hearers not go give up the prestige of having struck work in order to safeguard the honour of women.

Nationalist ~~prxxxxxxsitxxxionxbyxMrxKrix~~ lectures.

36. The Swadesamitran, of the 20th May, reproduces the lecture said to have been delivered on the Present situation by Mr. Krishnaswami Sarma at Villupuram on the 15th idem, in which he has remarked that the Englishmen, who entered India in the sixteenth century, secured power from the Muhammadan Kings by means of their skill and stratagem and are now ruling over the whole country and that there is no touch between the Government of India and the people and, quoting figures to prove that taxation is heavy and that the percentages of educated men among the population is lowest in India when compared with other countries, observes:-- Every one has a right to have free and compulsory education. The Kaffirs of Africa and the Negroes of America are having free education. It is available in Baroda and Mysore but not in British India.

The Swadesamitran, of the 20th May, also contains the gist of a lecutre delivered by Mr.V.O.Chidambaram Pillai at Tuticorin on the 16th May 1920, in which the following observations find place among others:--Taking our own place, Tuticorin, the difficulty of getting water has not disappeared, even though it is 150 years since the English rule was established. This can be said to reflect discredit on the British Government themselves. Under the existing system of administration, we are not able to achieve even petty objects. Can we hope to meet, discuss about things conducive to our benefit and disperse peacefully? One Policeman can create confusion in and dissolve an ordinary meeting if he likes. It is fear that predominates in the existing system of administration. You are aware of the Punjab massacres and the brutal acts of the cruel Dyer. You know well how restrictions were imposed on the Kallars tow months ago and how they were shot down and wounded when trying to escape through fear. Law permits all these Such unjust hardships can no longer be tolerated and peace can never be established until laws, which permit an innocent crowd to be shot down without any reason, are in existence. Much of partiality is shown. Law applies in one way to us and in another to the European. While punishments are light in other countries, those inflicted here are detestable. We, who were having a quiet life of it with all rights, have now become much reduced. We cannot go down further. Our king is full of grace. It is the bureaucrats, that exercise authirity in his name, that are cruel. You should support the Swadesi movement. You need not seek the favour of the authorities for this, nor will they lend their support to it. It should not be forgotten that they are in India only to amass and take away an immense fortune.

38. Quoting the reply given to a question in the Imperial Legislative Council about these brothers, that the matter of their release was being considered by the Government, and the statement of Mr.Montagu in Parliament that the Government of India do not propose to extend the benefit of the Royal clemency to these brothers, the Desabhaktan, of the 22nd May, observes:--If the latter statement is true, it is a most unwise and unsympathetic decision. Now that the Government have released Barindrakumar Ghosh, who was considered to be the leader of the anarchist movement in Bengal, and some of his associates, it is mot unjust to leave the patriotic Savarkar brothers alone to suffer in the Andamans. It is not clear what danger will occur, if they are released. We will assert that the action of the Government in the case of these brothers is a grave injustice. Only such unjust acts can occur in a Government conducted by foreigners.

The Savarkar brothers.

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44. The highhandedness of officials.

Remarking that it is not known when the highhanded actions of some officials, who are virtually the servants of the public, will cease, the Swadesamitran, of the 25th May, refers to communication from Mr. Shoukat Ali that one Mr. Muhammad Hayat Khan, a respectable zamindar, was confined in an office room and flogged by Mr. Smith, Deputy Commissioner in Sind, on the ground that he was connected with the Khilafat agitation and adds:--Such acts may be considered by some to be quite natural in those parts, regard being had to what has already occurred there. Still the superior officials should pay foremost attention to such acts in view of the serious consequences that might result therefrom. Though the Viceroy stated a few days ago that the present was a period of trial for the Indian Muslims, we would assert that it is a period of trial for the officials themselves. Let the Viceroy and others consider whether such actions at a trying period would tend to increase or decrease the heart-burning of the people. It is borne out by experience that the cruel and thoughtless acts of some officials cast a slur on the very name of the British administration. If it is the wish of the higher officials that the heart-burning of the Muslims should not increase, the official concerned in the above incident should be taught a good lesson; otherwise, we confidently assert that the trust and courage of the people will gradually go down. If the above news is without any foundation, that fact at least should at once be published.

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53. A correspondent to the Desabhimani, of the 9th May, says under this heading:--

Why should it be deemed sedition?

Is it sedition to say that a certain Act is arbitrary? Is it sedition to say that the authorities were looking upon the people as slaves? What does the attitude of the people of Canada, South Africa, etc., towards the Indians to-day manifest? Why go so far? What is the attitude in India? Differences are observed on Railways, in waiting rooms, on roads and in latrines also. Is this because they belong to the ruling class or they are foreigners? Is it the misfortune of the Indians? Is it due to the idea that they are not men or that they are devoid of valour? And is it race-hated or sedition to question thus?........ Should we respect the orders of any Englishman, however low he may be, who has landed in any part of the country, on the ground that he belongs to the ruling class? Can we not criticise his conduct and his administration? Is it sedition to do so? (~~Is it sedition to criticise the defects in officers such as the receiving of bribes?~~) Wherever the Indians even one like Gokhale may go, is looked upon as a slave ("..) why should it be deemed sedition to criticise it? Why not? It is indeed an obstacle to the receiving of bribes. Why should it be deemed sedition to say that it is not English statesmanship? Why should ~~ttxbe~~ the Indians be treated with disregard? Is it like drawing the milk ~~when~~ when it was there, and then cutting the udder. What is then to become of the Indians? Inquiry Committees have been appointed one after another and Indian money all wasted, but were any of their recommendations accepted? India which was enjoying the greatest civilisation and was the crest jewel among kingdoms when the western countries were quite uncivilised, is to-day deemed to be in servitude. This is to be regretted. The westerners treat the Indians as tools and not as men having an individuality of their own. They are fit to help

in defending the country of Englishmen and to fight side by side with them but are not fit to administer a country, or to give advice in politics or to hold posts in civil service. What statemanship is this? Why should it be deemed sedition to say that it is not statesmanship? Did we ever attempt to upset the Government? Did we attempt to proclaim war? No! If it is remembered how many Englishmen carry on administration in India with a population of thirty-three crores of Indians, no separate evidence is needed to show that the Indians are loyal. It is no sedition to pray for our rights. Our benign Government will grant them if we ask for them with all humility.

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55. A correspondent to the Desabhimani, of the 16th May, says:-

The moderates.

From words of Diwan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao Pantulu, it is plain that the moderates wish to secure reforms without vexing the minds of the bureaucratic rulers. It needs no saying what good the moderates will do to the public if they are returned to the Legislative Councils as representatives of the people. It does not matter if the bureaucracy feels vexed. The representatives of the Andhras in the new Provincial Legislative Council must make unceasing efforts to see that a Telugu province is constituted. We submit that the electors in the Andhra country should return only those persons who advocate the constitution of an Andhra province and promise to work for it in the new Council. The Andhras should reject the policy of the moderates, which is fraught with evil to the country. As stated by Mr.Lajpat Rai, there are only two parties, vix., the people's party and the Government party. From the words of Diwan Bahadur M.Ramachandra Rao, we can see to which party he belongs- May the readers see

whether it tends to our future progress or not to return such men to the Councils.

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60. Under this heading the Srivenkatesapatrika, of the 5th May observes to the following effect:--

The National Congress.

The Congress has been asking for self-government and not for petty concessions, of late. Though the official class in our country has not agreed to its grant, the British people have agreed to it....... .Is it not natural on the part of those who have tasted the pleasures of authority under the Government of India to throw blocks in the way of people getting new rights? A section of our countrymen also side with them in maintaining that the grant of complete self-government is not good for the safety of the country. The congress does not approve of this and asks: "Had not Indians ruled India 150 years ago? Do not Hindus and Muhammadans carry on rule in Mysrore, Baroda, Hyderabad, etc? Is it not strange to expect that Europeans who have hitherto looked upon the word 'Swaraj' as sedition, will readily undertake to train us up to swaraj?" If they help us, says the Congress, we shall thank them; but we shall not be indifferent till we secure swaraj, but shall act in union... ....Our representatives to the coming Legislative Council should be such as have realized by experience each and every one of the Congress resolutions. It is not enough if a person merely professess 'I belong to the Congress party.'

III.--LEGISLATION.

78. Remarking that, though it was stated that this Act would be in force only for six months after the conclusion of peace and this was reiterated even by Mr.Montagu in the House of Commons, it is still playing havoc in India, the Desabhaktan, of the 24th May, says:--Are the Government of India unaware of the fact that the war has come to an end and that the peace treaties too have either been signed already or are being signed? For aught we know, no communique has been issued by this Government that the term of this Act has been extended. Why should it continue still?

The Defence of India Act.

For the week ending 5th June 1920.

No.23 of 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The following appears in the Wednesday Review for the week ending 26th May:--"No word of condemnation can be too strong for the official supineness in dealing with labour strikes which have been suffered to assume alarming proportions. The attitude of the Local Governments in this respect is so weak and pusillanimous that the strikers are encouraged to commit any excesses and all that these Governments do in the matter is to send down a Labour Commissioner to interview the law-breakers and promise to carry any message of theirs loyalty to their

Labour strikes.

employers and await developments. We hold no breif for the empoloyers whose treatment of their men may not be all that may be desired. But it won't do to act on the assumption that they are the natural enemies of the working classes, and even the smallest concession to the men has to be wrung out of hard-hearted and reluctant masters. It may be granted that the employers also have a case and the strikers are not always in the right. No doubt in these days of high prices, the workers like any other class of humanity ought to be shown some concessions to enable them to keep their bodies and souls together. Men striking work to put their case before their employers and compel them to give it the consideration it deserves, is quite different from their committing excesses with a view to terrorise the employers into granting their demands without a demur. What happens is, the men strike without due notice to the employers, more often than not at the instigation of mischief-makers, the so-called labour leaders who will not suffer in the least even if the whole world went on strike as they have nothing to lose in this world or the next, and at once self-appointed judges seek to intervene between the workers and the masters with unconcealed bias against the latter. Meanwhile excesses are committed by the strikers under the nose of the authorities. Innocent people suffer and business is greatly dislocated. What is the attitude of the local Governments when the strikes are on? It is one of criminal passivity. In fact the general population have to take care of themselves and escape the strikers' excesses as best they may. They may not look to the Government for help at such crises... In dealing with a strike situation, the Government forget that they have a duty by the law-abiding part of the population if not towards the employers of labour. No one can be compelled to work against his will, if he thinks that the conditions of it are not satisfactory to him. He may quit it at his pleasure.

But he has no right to damage other people's property and behave as if he was above all law. If the Government are anxious to preserve their prestige and make law-breakers respect them, they must at once give up the present attitude of passive lookers-on and show that they are able to cope with disorder of whatever magnitude, and what is better, nip it in the bud. Labour unions as they are constituted with, perhaps, an exception or two, are the real sources of mischief. They are dominated by men whose business in life is to embarrass the authorities as much as possible and bring the administration into contempt. It is, therefore, incumbent on the Government to withhold from them any kind of official recognition, and refuse to treat with them. As soon as a strike is announced, the Government must make the men understand that the least sign of disorderliness on their part will not be permitted, no demonstration will be allowed, and in case they did mischief, there would be no parleying with them . The seeds of Bolshevism are being assiduously sown among the working classes by designing men. The Government are not doing what they should do with a situation whose ugly developments one can easily foresee but one cannot contemplate with any degree of equanimity."

2.) The Hindu, of 31st May, writes:--

"The Apotheosis of Michael.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Punjab affair.

"Not the least amazing feature of this most amazing episode which has resolved itself into an apologia for 'Frightfulness' is the absolution given to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. General Dyer has been condemned, but the man who was his inspiration, who approved of the massacre and continued to approve of it after it had been revealed in all the nakedness of its cold-blooded and fiendish brutality, has been thanked for his services to the empire. General Dyer represented an atavistic outburst of blood-lust such as even the most humane of peoples are at times liable to. He sinned greatly, but his sin had at least the redeeming consolation of being abnormal. Sir Michael O'Dywer represents a principle and a policy. As between the two there is all the difference between, say a Crippen, and the Council of Ten of Madeival Venice. He was the man who enunciated and carried out with a consistency and boldness which might deserve respect, if not sympathy, the cult of the Efficinet. To him the educated Indian was always a nuisance, a drone in the happy hive which was Sir Michael's ideal, but he was not harmless. He was a seditionist in intention and a potential disturner of the King's peace. This view he held with an intensity which amounted to an obsession..........There is no dissociating him either from the blood-guilt of General Dyer or the moral culpability of men like Colonel Johnson, Colonel O'Brien and that latter day knight-errant, Mr.Bosworth-Smith. If these men were guilty--and the committee is reluctantly obliged to own that they might in a sense be so regarded-he was equally so. They were the instruments, he was the inspiration. It comes as a shock then to find in the considered

despatch of the Government of India that while regretting that he expressed approval of General Dyer's action, it should express the opinion that it was fortunate that, when the disturbances broke out in April 1919, the Punjab was in charge of a Lieutenant-Governor of great experience and courage. The Government of India consider that Sir Michael O' Dwyer acted with decision and vigour in a time of great danger, and that he was largely responsible for quelling a dangerous rising which might have had widespread and disastrous effects on the rest of India.' If Sir Michael is ~~xxx~~ thus to be canonised why crucify his poor instruments?"

The Hunter Committee's Report.

3. In a leader on this subject New India, of 1st June, remarks:--"The majority apparently accept the hasty view of the Government of India, and without a shred of evidence beyond official fears, they allow it to stifle their sense of justice and abhorrence of cruelty, and pronounce a very feeble condemnation of the Punjab atrocities. It is a sad exhibition of the way in which racial feeling can magnify rioting into rebellion and minimise callous slaughter into a mistaken conception of his duty'. It is impossible to ~~re~~ read the description of the Jallianwala massacre without disgust and shame..........General Dyer's excuse is that he wanted to produce a sufficient moral effect from a military point of view not only on those who were present but more especially throughout the Punjab.' So this monster shot down the unresisting helpless crowd, including little children in their father's arms, to produce an effect on others. If this be not murder, murder requires a new definition. The Germans shot innocent men in Belgium to terrorise others, and all decent people cried 'shame' though they were in an enemy's country. This murderer shoots down the King-Emperor's

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Emperor's lieges to terrorise others, andxx he has only a mistaken conception of his duty.' 'The ghastly atrocity of Amritsar is made more ghastly by the callousness of the majority report.'........And let General Dyer say if he deliberately waited from 1 p.m. to 4, before starting for the meeting, because he wished to inflict a lesson? If he only wanted to precent meetings, why did he not place pickets at the narrow inlets to stop people from going into the Bagh? Why did he let them walk innocently into a death-trap from which they could not escape, and in which no sane people would have held a meeting had they heard of his proclamation? Did he plot the massacre beforehand?"

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4. The Hindu, of 1st June, observes:-- "We publich to-day the concluding portion of Mr.C.F.Andrew's article on the Fiji riots. It will be noticed from it that the public apprehension in India regarding the nature of the 'riots' and the manner in which they were suppressed has been more than justified. The Indian population in that colony appears to have been the subject of cruel barbarities, not merely on the part of their capitalist exploiters and their Government, but also on that of their native hirelings--the Fijians and the Polynesians--who, cannibals as they were, less than a hundred years ago, feeding on their own kith and kin, have now but barely emerged from that primitive stage of civilisation........The course of action Fiji has taken and is taking is one which we in this country cannot tolerate, although she might be encouraged in it by the inexplicable silence of the Government of India in the matter. The latter have a duty to our countrymen abroad--a duty which Lord Hardinge has shown us is capable of being effectively

The Fiji riots.

discharged. We can only hope that they have not altogether abdicated their function in this most important crisis in Fiji. In any case, they owe it to the public to state in some detail the situation as they knew it and the action they took upon it."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in the Straits Settlements.

6. Referring to the resolution moved by the Hon'ble Mr.Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar in the session of the Local Legislative Council held in November last that the Government of India should be requested to abolish the rule, under the Defence of India Act, requiring Indians going to the Straits Settlements and the Malay States to take out passports, and to the remark of the Hon'ble Mr.Knapp, who opposed it, that the responsibility of removing the restriction devolved on the Government of the Straits Settlements themselves, inasmuch as it was they that imposed it, the Swadesamitran, of the 26th May, points of reliable information, obtained that it was the Government of India and not that of the Straits Settlements that are responsible for this restriction and observes:-- If the Government of the Straits Settlements wanted to prescribe passports for persons coming from India, they should have themselves issued an order to that effect, either under the Defence of India Act or an y other authority, and made it applicable to all people leaving India, without any distinction. But coolies sent through emigration depots are exempt from this rule. That is why even those who can afford to pay the regular shipping fare enlist themselvesas coolies and travel at easy rates, in

view of the trouble and loss attendant on taking out passports. This not only lowers the self-respect of such passengers but also reduces the income of the shipping companies and frustrates the object of the emigration depots. It is surprising that our Government, without bestowing personal attention on this matter, remain indifferent, throwing the responsibility on others. Many from this Presidency have emigrated there and are carrying on business and, though some capitalists have settled there alone, some are residing in this country. If, on account of some unexpected event, the latter have to go there urgently, the passport stands in the way as it cannot be secured speedily and they are put to many losses thereby. It is in no way proper that the people of our presidency should be subjected to hardhips like this.

The African problem.

11. The Bharatamata, of the 5th May, refers to the grievances of the South African Indians, quotes from the letter of Mr. Andrews about the disablilities and sufferings of the Indians in British East Africa, and observes:--

It is plain from this that in East Africa, both the Government and the people are subjecting Indians to trouble, and the reason is said to be race prejudice! Perhaps this is a characteristic of civilisation and membership of the same Empire! We have nothing to do with any more discussion in the matter. The perverse are never persuaded by soft words. The people and the Government of India as well as the Imperial Government must emphatically assert that South African Government (sic) who set fire to the shadow of an Indian will not be allowed any rights in India, and must earnestly work to protect the rights of Indians in Africa.

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War with Afghanistan in the North-West Frontiers.

17. In the course of a long leading article under this heading, the Kanthirava, of the 25th May, remarks:--Though the Afghans are not as civilised as the British, at any rate, it is clear that they are not fools. How then can the Afghans, small and powerless as they are and having none of the modern equipments, small and powerless as they are and having none of the modern equipments, throw down the gauntlet to such a mighty nation as the British? Can it be that the Bolsheviks are aiding them secretly? But will that be sufficient to wage war against such an extensive country as India? Or, is it that the Afghans think that they will get success because the Punjab is not peaceful, that the discontented Punjabis will assist them? These hopes must evidently be at the root of the whole matter. The Afghans and the other border tribes that came to India for trade and other purposes must have seen how weak, sickly and unarmed the majority of the Indians are. This must have been another reason that provoked these raiders. Under these circumstances, it is essential in order to protect India from all such dangers that the Indians should be free from the clutches of all those measures which tend to undermine their manhood and to drive them to cowardly acts of revenge and finally make them utterly effeminate beings. Let Government grant us this request of ours; the result will prove the stuff of which Indians are made.

The border raids on the North-West Frontiers are occurring very frequently during recent years. We are really surprised to see that the British, who crushed even Germany to powder, are unable to deal effectively with this situation, and put an end to these raids. That has remained a secret till to-day. It is true the raiders are living amidst hills

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and inaccessible mountain-tracts. But have not the British succeeded in more difficult enterprises? Have not the Western nations ruthlessly wiped out their troublesome enemies root and branch? Or, are we to understand that these frontiers are the training ground for the Indian military? But we think such an idea is altogether untenable and disproved by the facts. We hope the Government will explain to their Indian subjects the secret underlying the whole situation and devise more effective means of warding off such raids.

Khilafat

A big meeting at Tiruppattur. Resignation tendered by an Honorary Magistrate.

19. The Qaumi Report, of the 22nd May, in the course of a leader which gives an account of the proceedings of the Khilafat meeting held at Tiruppattur, says:-- We should act according to the commandment of God which says that we should fear Him alone and give our lives for being Muslims.

The writer then ~~explains the non-co-operation and says We should be displeased with~~ refers to the peace terms and remarks that Europe has dismembered the power of the Khilafat and taken possession of the Holy Places. It is disgraceful and fatal peace. If Muhammadans consent to such peace terms, they will accept their own death warrant. But as long as there is one Musslaman alive he will not accept ~~their own death~~ this oppressive peace.

The writer then explains the non-co-operation and says. We should be displeased with those who have displeased us. We do acknowledge the King of Britain as Our King, and do maintain his connection with us in that capacity. We do not ask people to rebel or wage any religious war, but

but we are struggling for friendship and sympathy. But his decorations will not please us. We have the right to cease doing the work which we have hitherto performed in a friedly and sympathetic manner.

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II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

Colour distinction.

22. Remarking that it is a longstanding complaint that the Indians are being treated with contempt by the whites on account of the former being of a dark complexion, and referring to the news that the European Association has recommended to the Government of India that European officials in the Imperial Police Service should be paid Rs.250 more than their present salary, the Indian officials in the same service being given the salary now drawn by Europeans, the Desabhaktan, of the 28th May, observes:--Where is the need for the European officials being paid Rs.250 more than the Indian officials seeing that both the classes of officials are to do the some kind of duty and have the same capacity? Perhaps difference in colour is the sole reason for this.

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*XXX The writer, in conclusion, referring to His Excellency the Viceroy's message in which he advises Muhammadans to act with patience, says: "Of course, we shall not exercise any such patience. Rather are we prepared to lament over such a statement."

(k) General.

Strike in the Madras Electirc Supply Corporation.

27. Anent this strike and the dissatisfaction among the strikers at the award of the Court of Inquiry, that they should get the same rate of wages as the tramway men, the Swadesamitran, of the 26th May, says:--The Court of Inquiry do not seem t have inspected the workshop of the Electirc Supply Corporation before coming to this conclusion, and this has caused annoyance to the labourers who claim that their work is different from and more risky than that of the tramway men. As this is a matter that is likely to cause inconvenience to the public, we ask that precautions were taken by the authorities to avoid a situation which might result in such inconvenience. In England the Prime Minister himself tries to effect an amicable settlement in such cases. There, the Government rely upon the favour of the public; but here, the latter have no influence whatever. So the authorities too seem to be indifferent. What is Mr.Paddison doing? Can he do anything in the matter? If not, what for should his post exist? It appears the workmen agreed to abide by the decision of the Labour Commissioner, if a dismissed servant of the Company should be re-entertained, and wanted him to test if the company also would do so. But Mr.Paddison's recommendation to the company on this head has been of no avail. This is the position of the Labour Commissioner!

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28. Remarking that it is seen from recent telegrams that the reason for the order passed by the Government of the United Provinces againt Mr.Jawahr Lal Nehru is that he was staying with his family in a hotel at Mussoorie, occupied by the Afghan representatives, with whom, however, he did not even exchange a word, the Desabhaktan, of the 26th May, expresses its surprise at the Government being so nervous about ordinary matters and observes that this brings to light many points.

Mr.Jawahar Lal Nehru.

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33. Referring to this report, the Desabhaktan, of the 27th May, writes:--We already felt that we would not be benefited by the labours of the Hunter Committee, as is the case with every committee appointed by the Government and one who reads this report after going through that of the Congress sub-committee will realise this truth. The Congress sub-committee have recommended that Lord Chelmsford should be recalled for having failed to discharge his duty and that Sir Michael O'Dwyer and other officials should be removed from service for having wantonly afflicted the people and added that these would be very light punishments for the offenders, which view is reported to be shared also by some Englishmen. But the Hunter Committee shower encomiums on Lord Chelmsford for having done his duty at a critical juncture, and do not deem Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was responsible for the Punjab massacres, to have committed any mistake. General Dyer is perhaps the only unfortunate person among the military men who has been removed from his post! Will the removal of one officer compensate the misery suffered by the people of the Punjab and remove the slur cast on the British rule by the highhanded acts of the authorities in that Province? The

The report of the Hunter Committee.

The despatch of the Secretary of State is as unsatisfactory as the report of the Hunter Committee. The members of this committee especially the Europeans, have judged all matters with a prejudiced mind. We are very sorry indeed that money should have been easted upon this committee, who have conducted their inquiry in such a manner as to confer the least benefit upon the Indians and issued this report. But we are thankful to the committee for having found fault with at least Dyer, who, losing all sense of humanity and actuated by a feeling of brutality insulted and afflicted innocent people to such an extent as to make the civilised world shudder. We thought that the committee would pronounce his acts also to be justifiable in the circumstances. So many will be surprised at their having shared the view of the world only in this one respect. The European members of the Committee differ from the Indian members in regard to their ciew about the justification of the introduction of the Martial Law. In our opinion it was not at all justifiable. Even if there was a necessity for it, the continuance of it and the commission of many unjust acts under cover of it are such as to spoil the fair name of the British. Hunter Committee think that the people of the Punjab rose in rebellion against the British Government. Every one who reads the report of the Congress sub-committee will understand that there was no such rebellion. No one can deny that the people of that Province were dissatisfied with the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Still there was no movement there hostile to the British Government. There was a strong agitation about the Rowlatt Law and the action of the authorities against Mr.Gandhi and Doctors Satyapal and Kitchelieu increased the unrest. The popular mind

was upset and many highhanded acts were committed. So it should be deemed to be only the result of a sudden excitement and can in no way be considered to be an open rebellion against the British Government. That the Hunter Committee should have deemed it to be the latter shows only their perverted turn of mind. When the truth is patent, why should this committee screen it? It was the use of fire arms and the mean acts of the authorities that excited the people. We still believe that, if the Punjab Government had acted a little thoughtfully, loss of life and property couldhave been saved. While condemning the conduct of General Dyer in firing upon the people without a warning and continuing it after the necessity was over, the committee say that he should not be found fault with for having neglected to provide medical aid to the wounded, as they do not think any one suffered for want of such aid. On the whole, the report of the Hunter Committee is a great disappointment to us. The trend of the report shows that it is written in favour of the officials. Those who expected justice from t is committee would be disappointed entirely. They would have rendered some justice, if they had recommended the removal of Lord Chelmsford, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and other petty officials from office. Perhaps we will have only such justice, as long as India does not obtain responsible government.

Characterising this report as that of a committee, which conducted an inquiry on behalf of the very officials, who brought about a great massacre of the people of the Punjab in April last year and, subjecting them to several tyrannical acts and unbearable hardships, acted highhandedly vaunting that this was the glory of the British rule the Swadesamitran, of the 27th May, observes:--No one can appreciate this matter having been disposed of in

such a manner as to make impossible for the Indian public or even the British public, who are the masters of His Majesty's Ministers and the authorities below them committing such cruelties, to examine it and come ~~xxxxxx~~ to their own conclusion. Perhaps His Majesty's Government, the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy have published their despatches with the hope of satisfying the Goddess of Righteousness, the Indian public and the whole world by pretending to afford some small redress themselves, instead of allowing the question to be gone into fully and the conclusions arrived at given effect to! Alas! Why should not the Government or the officials that committed acts in broad daylight, even the sight or hearing of which could not be tolerated by many, be tried openly before Parliament, praised as the House of Justice of the English public from time immemorial, and justice rendered? Should they enjoy even among their countrymen in England the privilege they enjoy here as belonging to the ruling race? No right-minded person in the world will surely permit this. Coming to the report and the despatches, there is no doubt that the whole Tamil world will peruse these documents with a feeling of misery, disappointment and suppressed fury. Though there does not seem to be much difference between the report of the Hunter Committee and that of the Congress sub-committee regarding the incidents that followed the disturbances in the Punjab last year, they entirely differ about the root cause of these disturbances and in the method of supporting the highhanded acts of the authorities and the matter of the relief to be afforded to the people who suffered immense hardships. Of course our land will always feel grateful to the Indian members of the Hunter Committee for having descrined the atrocities committed and the misery of the people in detail and

condemned the authorities and the Government. Still, it is highly regrettable that they should have joined their European colleagues in accepting the view that the Satyagraha vow about to be started by Mr.Gandhi was the main cause of the disturbances. Now turning to the Despatch of the Government of India, though it is natural for them to stick to their view, it will be noted that an important point is still being shelved. This relates to the question as to when the authorities in the Punjab decided that there was a revolution there and intimated the same to the Governmentof India and what powers and orders were entrusted or given to them and as to why the Provincial authorities, who have extensive powers under the English rule, thought the situation could not be kept in hand by them and, losing their self-respect, ventured to surrender their authority to the troops. Has any one seen or heard of this in any law or system of Government? But this very important question does not appear to have been examined by the Hunter Committee, while the Government of India say that they will go into this matter after all the confusion is over. As for the Despatch of the Secretary of State, it is not fair on his part tohave made only a superficial examination of the actions of the officials in the Punjab, which made the people of the Punjab, admitted even now to be most loyal, tremble whether injustice would after all come to predominate in the country, and arrived at several conclusions, thus preventing the British public rendering justice. But there are many statements in it, as in the report about reforms, which lay down different principles and which are sweet to the readers and are likely to please the moderates and make them forget their duty. Nevertheless the principles laid down by him on two important points will be appreciated by

the Indians with gratitude. Firstly, every one will approve of his statement that military strength can be used only for suppressing a big rebellion, that it is entirely wrong to use it for striking terror in the minds of the subjects, by means of oppression, so as to show the prestige of the Government and demonstrate the arrogance of the ruling race and that no civilised Government can tolerate it. It is a question to be considered again whether, if the Secretary of State and the authorities really understand this, the responsibility of the Viceroy in the matter of the Punjab incidents will not alter and Sir Michael O'Dwyer will not have to be accused and put on his trial, instead of being praised. The next noteworthy statement of the Secretary of State is that the arbitrary regulations passed in connection with the exercise of the Martial Law and the immense cruelty practised in giving effect to them cannot be justified on any account. If this is a correct statement, it is a wonder of wonders that he has nothing to say regarding, the injustice of the introduction of the Indemnity Act.

The Desabhaktan, of the 28th May, reverts to this subject and also, remarking that the Despatch of the Secretary of State is likely to cause great dissatisfaction to the Indians, adds:--Mr.Montagu says that the British Government too strongly condemn only General Dyer. What does it matter whether he is condemned or not? The civilised world condemned him at the very time the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre occurred. No one now thinks that he has any feeling of humanity to him. The Government of India should regret their having kept such an irresponsible person in a high office. Even if they do regret it, will the intensity of the evils that resulted from the brutal

ways adopted by General Dyer be reduced? Judging from the detailed description Mr.Montagu has given of the acts of this General, it looks as if he deems only this one individual to be guilty. What is Mr.Montagu's idea about the other wretches that are also guilty. ~~XXXXXXX Mr.Montagu's idea about the others~~ Does he think that it will do to punish the most guilty person for guilty of several? Mr.Montagu showers encomiums on Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was the root cause of the disturbances in the Punjab. If the Secretary of State is satisfied with the administrative capacity of Sir Michael, he will perhaps recommend to the British Government that only such men should be sent out as Provincial Governors hereafter! Though the Viceroy did not act highhandedly himself, he committed a great mistake in having failed to check the unjust acts of his subordinates. It is most undesirable on the whole that the Secretary of State should have issued this despatch at a time when the report of the Hunter Committee, which is disappointing to the Indians has been published. He is only adding fuel to the fire by his action. Mr.Montagu says that the object of the Government is not to punish the offenders but to prevent the recurrence of disturbances like those that occurred in the Punjab. We think it will be difficult to prevent the recurrence of a mischief, if the offenders are not punished. Though it is known to every one that Martial Law was introduced only after the disturbances in Amritsar and other places had ceased, Mr.Montagu says that they would have recurred, if Martial Law had not been introduced. What was the cause of the disturbances but the attempt of the authorities to quell them by means of highhanded measures at a time when the popular mind was much agitated? We cannot accept the conclusion of

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the Hunter Committee that the Satuagraha movement increased the unrest. It was this movement that kept the people within bounds. The Secretary of State and others can understand this well, if they judge matters with an impartial mind. Mr.Montagu, who describes the actions of General Dyer in detail, has not a word to say about the several ways in which the people of the Punjab were afflicted in the name of Martial Law. Is he unaware of them and especially of the fact of helpless Indian women having been ill-treated by military officials, calling themselves British? No British subject who reads the evidence of women before the Congress sub-committee about the way in which they were treated, can help shuddering; Alas! Cruel indeed! This one act will do to ruin the good name of the British Empire. Mr.Montagu has not, perhaps, read the report of the Congress sub-committee fully on account of his over-confidence in the Hunter Committee. Innumerable are the mistakes committed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The Indians think that he is unfit to be the head of a Province and yet Mr.Montagu has no fault to find with him. If he has not been guilty, we do not know who is. Though General Dyer was directly responsible for the Jallianwallah massacre and other incidents, we cannot forget that he could not have done anythingwithout the sanction of his superiors. It was Sir Machael who was guiding him from behind and this is borne by the very fact of his having supported the actions of General Dyer in Jallianwallah Bagh. So the responsibility for the brutal acts of General Dyer and his associates rests only on Sir Michael. That he has not been dealt with as recommended by the Congress sub-committee will cause permanent dissatisfaction to the Indians. This will aslso tend to reduce the confidence of the Indians in British justice. The most responsible officer in the

the Government of India is the Viceroy and that he failed to check the excesses of the Punjab officials is really reprehensible. It does not indicate statesmanship. It is the unanimous opinion of the Indians that Lord Chelmsford, who failed to ascertain the truth and do justice to the people left in his charge, is unfit to hold the post of the Viceroy. That a responsible official, who has neglected his duty, has been praised in the despatch of the Secretary of State undeservedly will only increase the discontent in the minds of the Indians tenfold. Where is British justice? O Secretary of State! Know well that the Indians will not be decieved by your despatch. They will not keep quiet until they obtain justice. It is, perhaps, the misfortune of the sons of Bharata that you should conduct yourself as a suitable Secretary of State for the Viceroy.

The report of the Hunter Committee.

The Swadesamitran, of the 29th May, reverts to this subject and writes:--This report cannot cause disappointment to the Indians, as the tenor of the report of the European members of the committee was already anticipated. It appeared from Lord Hunter not having condemned the insults offered by the official witnesses to the Indian members of the committee, even when the inquiry was going,on, that he would not care for the feelings of the Indians. He and his colleagues have not stopped with ignoring the feelings of the Indians. He and his colleagues have not stopped with ignoring the feelings of the Inians. They do not seem to attach a proper value even to the life of the Indian. If we examine every item in the report minutely, it will be clear that the European members have been actuated throughout by a racial bias. By complaining that Indians suffered at the

hands of European officials, we are only bringing about a waste of money and it is very hard for us to prove our case and derive an advantage. The moment we raised a cry, the Government appointed a committee. As it is they that appoint it, they know whom to choose for it. The President and the majority of the members are Europeans. It is quite natural they favour their race and it is a mistake to suppose that they will betray men of their own race. So there is nothing surprising in their having concluded that the actions of the officials were proper. The only advantage we have had from this is an immense expenditure. Considering the opinion of the committee about the Jallianwallah massacre, they seem to think that there is nothing wrong in any one, doing any mischief to an Indian. Their statement that, though General Dyer admitted before them that the crowd could have been dispersed without firing on them, the crowd would not have dispersed the moment they were asked to do so, shows that they felt that he had made a statement prejudicial to himself and were anxious to protect him. As Mr.Montagu himself has stated to the effect that the committee have, without condemning the actions which ought to have been condemned, glossed over them, how can the Indians help thinking that the European members of the Committee have written their report with a partial attitude? General Dyer admitted that he wanted to create a terror in the minds of the people. It is true that terror has been created. But it is not General Dyer alone that has done it. The Government of the Punjab, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India and the European members of the Hunter Committee have all joined together and created the terror that British justice will change like chameleon with reference to the occasion and the personality.

The Hindu Nesan, of the 29th May, also says that the report of the Hunter Committee has come as a disappointment upon the Indians.

In a leader under the heading 'some pearls from the report of the Hunter Committee,~~has come as a disappointment~~ the Swadesamitran, of the 31st May, quotes extracts from the report to prove that the committee have used very mild language in regard to the actions of the Punjab officials and the orders passed by them and adds:-- Comparing the misery suffered by the people in the Punjab and the polite words used by the committee about the authors of this misery, one has to think that the British will not betray men of their own race whatever excesses latter may commit. The people died, were wounded, lost their limbs, lost their property and were insulted. This is the misery suffered by the people. What punishment has been meted out to the officials that committed these atrocities? General Dyer, who committed the most heinous acts, has been transferred from this country. No one else has had any punishment. This is the result of the inquiry of the Hunter Committee. They began the inquiry long after the disturbances took place and justice demands that they should quote the evidence on which they conclusions are based. Without doing this, they quote as authority a statement of Mrs. Annie Besant, who does not think about what she speaks. The minority members ask whether the majority are prepared to accept other statements of this lady. She said on the 19th December 1919 that she was shocked to read the evidence of the military officials before the hunter Committee and that the Germans did not commit in Belgium any worse act than what was admitted by these officials. Do the majority members accept this?

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Quoting the statement of the Indian Social Reformer in commenting on this report, that Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer were the cause of the Punjab troubles, and the hope expressed by it that Lord Chelmsford would have the good sense to resign his office of his own accord the Desabhaktan, of the 31st May, observes:-- Have the Government of India paid any attention to the remarks of even the moderate papers? Will Lord Chelmsford pity his condition of least hereafter?

The Hunter Committee's report.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 27th May, publishes in English and Telugu the Hunter Committee's Report, etc., with the head note: "Lord Hunter's Whitewashing Report. English members accept rebellion theory.' Martial Law justified. Indian Members' feeble dissent. Secretary of State's, Disappointing Order. Viceroy's action approved. Sir Michael O'Dwyer eulogised."

In reviewing the report, the same paper makes the following observations:--The report has come after such a long time. The result of the inquiry has been as expected. Europeans formed the majority. There were some members of the Civil Service among them. The Indian members on the committee were selected from among the moderates. The Committee inquired only the authorities to a large extent. The Congress Committee strongly urged the necessity of releaseing prisoners on bail so that the official witnesses might be cross-examined. But the Hunter Committee did not grant the request of the Congress Committee. There was thereforeno scope for justice being done. The Hunter Committee solely relied on the facts unavoidably given out by the authorities. The members did not sift even these facts properly but published a partial report. The whole country cannot but feel disappointed at this.

It cannot but give room for the people to wonder where British justice has hid itself. We do not know what to say of the wisdom of the Hunter Committee representing riotous action due to temporary provocation, as rebellion and trying to justify the introduction of the Martial Law. None of the official witnesses could adduce proof to show the existence of rebellion-Itis improper to think there was any connection between the SATYAGRAHA movement and the riots. The Congress Committee's report has proved by evidence that the Punjab disturbances are the result of the administration of the Punjab by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. It is plain that the disturbances were due to the panic caused to the people by such things as the adoption of a policy which might be likened to the policy of conscription, ad and the introduction of harsh measures for raising war funds. There is nothing more improper than to cover up all this and throw the whole blame on Mr.Gandhi, the messenger of peace. It is anomalous to say that the people rebelled without any arms. That Mr.Montagu too has stooped to justify the enforcement of Martial Law shows that he has completely yielded to the influence of the bureaucracy. Be the need of Martial Law as it may, that the Hunter Committee has not strongly condemned the way in which that law was enforced, betrays their unwisdom. In enforcing the Martial Law, the military officers punished the people as they would punish enemies and completely forgot the fact that they were the subjects of His Imperial Majesty. It is improper on the part of Mr.Montagu that instead of condemning altogether the throwing of bombs from aeroplanes in Gujranwalla, he only referred to certain defects therein. That the English statesmen who complained strongly against the Germans throwing bombs on unarmed people, have not condemned the action of the military authorities in throwing bombs on unarmed peoplein India, is undoubtedly a stain on their fair. It is stated that General Dyer had resigned his appointment and that he would receive no further employment in India. We are surprised that instead of dismissing him altogether from employment and punishing him adequately, he has been let off lightly.

It is regrettable that Mr.Montagu has eulogised Sir Michael O'Dwyer instead condemning him for the commotion he caused in the Punjab. The whole of India considers that the Government of Lord Chelmsford is to some extent responsible for the Punjab resolution and demands that he should be recalled. The Congress passed a x a resolution to this effect and a similar resolution was adopted at several political meetings. It is not just on the part of Mr. Montagu to treat public opinion thus lightly, and praise Lord Chelmsford. The Indians are grateful to the Hon'ble Mr.Shafi who has, like Sir C.Sankaran Nayar, boldly declared that there has been no rebellion in the country and no need for the enforcement of Martial Law. The report of the Hunter Committee, the letter of the Government of India, and the order of the Secretary of State thereon which are disappointing cannot but move the indignation of all the Indians. The whole civilized world is disgusted with the Punjab disturbances. The Hunter Committee and the Secretary of State have had an opportunity to satisfy the world, xxx but they have let it slip. Until birthrights are safeguarded, progress will not be possible in India. Indians cannot sleep till they secure them. There should be no scope for the recurrence of a situation in this country like that of the Punjab. So long as birthrights are violated, reforms will be of no use. If the Indians wake up xx and have their birthrights declared means of legislation, they may feel glad that the laying down of the lives of innocent heroes at Jallianwallah Bhag was not in vain.

The Hunter Committee's Report--I

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 31st May, writes:--The Government of India were then and there expressing their approval of the courses of action adopted in the Punjab and accepting the suggestions of Sir Michael O' Dwyer. It has therefore to be ascertained what part they took and to what extent their actions are justifiable. If for this reason, a parliamentary inquiry committee, having no connexion with the Government of India, had been appointed with instructions to submit

its report to the Parliament, some justice would have been done. That was not done. The Government of India themselves appointed the committee, and the readerswill understand what scope the members would have to criticise the actions of the Government bldly. The reason may be guessed of the disparity in the number of European and Indian members. It is unfair that an additional Secretary to the Government of India should be appointed a member of the Committee to review the acts of the Government. Major-General Barrow is another member. It is easy to see how impartial Military Commanders will be in judging the conduct of Military officers in enforcing Martial Law. Another member, Mr.Smith, is an Anglo-Indian, not in sympathy withthe aspirations ofthe people. We do not question the appointment of the three Indian members, but it would have been just if more Indian members, devoted to the service of the country and enjoying the confidence of the people, had been appointed. The report of the European members whitewashes the acts of the authorities, and to a large degree justified the conduct of General Dyer. Even the Indian members were not able to understand properlythe SATYAGRAHA movement of Mr.Gandhi The moderates' doctrines have prejudiced their minds.

The inquiry of the committee has proved to be an examination of official witnesses. The witnesses were not subjected to cross-examination. All the accused have the right to cross-examine. More so those who are accused of a heinous crime like rebellion. The committee refused to accede to the reasonable request of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that the released prisoners might be allowed to x crossexamine the witnesses. This is not a feature of truth-seekers. By refusing to grant the request, the committee has swerved from the right path. A perusal of the minority report will show that neither the report of the Indian members nor that of the European members was based on full materials, and that the findings are based on one-sided evidence. The Congress Committee's report records evidence from the other side, and it would have been fair to consider both the reports in arriving at the truth. But neither the Government

of India nor the Secretary of State did so.

Excepting the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi, all the members of the Government of India justfy the application of the Martial Law, and Mr. Montagu has concurred in this view. Many of the official witnesses have admitted that it is meaningless to call the riotous behaviour of unarmed people, rebellion. That in the absence of arms and a conspiracy, to imagine the existence of a rebellion and introduce Martial Law was unjust on the part of the Punjab Government and the Government of India. The European members admitted that they had no grounds to trace the riots to any conspiracy to overthrow the British Government. It is difficult to understand now under such circumstances the Secretary of State has concluded that there was a rebellion in the Punjab which necessitated the application of Martial Law. The Indian members have proved that there was neither rebellion nor conspiracy. From the report of the European members, it can be seen that the Punjab disorders were caused by the hasty acts of the authorities, which were devoid of farsightedness.

The Report of the Hunter Committee--II

Under this heading, the ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 1st June, says,:--We have, in our issue of Yesterday, shown that the contention of the European members that rebellion on the part of the people was the cause of the declaration of Martial Law in the Punjab, has no foundation, The SATYAGRAHA day passed off quietly in provinces like Bombay, Madras and Bengal where political agitation was rather keen. We can, from the course of action followed by the authorities in the Punjab, guess the reason why there have been riots in the Punjab, where political agitation has been rather mild. The report of the Hunter Committee admits that the Rowlatt Law is the chief cause of the unrest. The people believed inthe efficacy of STATYAGRAHA to get the above law repealed, and as the authorities did not interfere in other places, the SATYAGRAHA day passed off without friction. The Punjab authorities were unnecessarily

alarmed, and began to punish the people. They could have averted the disorders had they been a little farsighted. Nobody could object to the offenders being punished under the ordinary laws of the land, but it is most undesirable that the breach of peace due to temporary provocation was made much of and commotion caused by the declaration of Martial Law. The Deputy Commissioner represented to the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer that the celebration, of HARTAL was the first step in the rebellion and applied for military assistance. The Punjab Government, who scented in every movement took immediate action. In his evidence the Deputy Commissioner said that during the celebration, the procession paused before him, and the band played "God save the King"! From this it is plain that there was no connexion between the teachings of Mr.Gandhi and the riots. The view of the Government of India has no foundation in facts...... There is nothing surprising in that the people were grieved at the disgrace caused to their leaders by internments. When the people were going to the Deputy Commissioner to represent their grievances, the latter gave orders to stop them in the way; * They had no intention to rebel, but the riots were due to temporary excitement, caused by the acts of the authorities. If the unarmed mob had not been fired at, there would have been no rioting. That Mr.Montagu has also fallen into the error of not trying to find out the true cause of the disorders shows that he yielded to the influence of the bureaucracy. The Report and the Secretary of State's order thereon are disappointing. Mr.Montagu has ordered the revision of the Martial Law rules with a view to reduce their severity. But there can be no use of such temporary measures. The birthrights of people should be safeguarded by means of legislation.

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 31st May, says:--The punishments awarded to the offenders must be such as would be admitted by impartial men to be what they deserve. Mighty cleverness is displayed in writing

The Hunter Committee's Report.

the report. The pape s remark that frightful offences have been shown to be trivial to the public. This is the order of the day. Offenders always attempt to whitewash themselves. Their opponents will try to depict the true state; impartial judges will see to the merits of the case but partial judges will see that their party gets benefited. Opinion will be flowing out in torrents about this report. Both sides will set forth their views. In the end truth will out. We wish British justice may triumph.

The Hunter Committee Report.

Reviewing the report of the Hunter Committee on the Punjab disorders, the Kerala Patrika, of the 29th May, observes that, though the inquiry has not ended in a manner satisfactory to the people, it may definitely be asserted that such atrocities will never be committed by introducing Martial Law, if similar events occur in future.

The Kerala Sanchari, of the 26th May, dwells upon the immediate necessity of enhancing the pay of the dafter bands attached to the Taluk offices, whose duty it is to help the clerks in the office, and hopes that this matter will receive the attention of the Government.

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34. Referring to the strikes that have occurred in different places in the country of late and to the hardships that often result to the public from the pertinacity which

The labour strikes and the Government.

which both the employers and the labourers stick to their point in these strikes, the Swadesamitran, of the 28th May, says:--Have any measures been thought of to remedy this evil at least after it has occurred? Beyond the demand of the people for the intervention of the Governor and his occasional interference in some cases, nothing definite seems to have been done yet. Are there legally constituted Boards of Arbitration here as there are in western countries, or is there at least a Department of Labour? There is of course the Labour Commissioner in Madras. But he has no power to settle disputes effectually. We do not understand the meaning of the Government not making any definite arrangement when the labour movement is gaining strength in the country and strikes are occurring frequently leading to disturbances now and again.

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38. Under this heading, the Andrapatrika, of the 28th May, says:--The Indians are disgusted with Inquiry Committees and reports. The appointment of Inquiry Committees involve a waste of public funds. No good comes out of them, but on the other hand great harm is done to Indian aspirations. Very few Indians are appointed on these committees, and the European majority draft one report and the Indian minority another. Difference of opinion thus prevails between the Europeans and the Indians in political matters, and the opinion of the Indian members, however reasonable it may be, is not given effect to. If, as stated by the Bombay Chronicle, the Hunter Committee had been constituted with the sole purpose of vindicating the acts of the authorities, it is a matter for regret. It is ridiculous that while the Indians should be vested with the power to decide Indian questions, importance has been given to the finding of the European members. Unless India attains complete self-government at an early date, there can be no scope for progress. This truth will be evident to the Indians through the report of the Hunter Committee.

Inquiry Committees and reports.

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40. The Nellorepatrika, of the 1st May, reproduces in Telugu from the Maharatta Patrika the article of the New York American of 24th February 1920, which calls General Dyer a 'murderer' and condemns in vehement terms the 'horrible massacre' at Amritsar, which it pronounces to be a darker deed than that of the Germans in Belgium.

General Dyer.

For the week ending 12th June 1920.

NO. 24 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--H OME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 2nd June, remarks:--"The appointment of the Hunter Committee was in itself a bad blunder and Mr. Montagu's delay in publishing its report has been a worse one. With the best of intentions in the world Mr.Montagu has been handling Indian affairs with incredible folly. The publication of the Hunter Committee's report is the latest instance of it. We wish it were the last of Mr.Montagu's blunders, but it all depends upon the life of the Coalition Cabinet. We fail to see that any good purpose will be served by the publication of the report. So far as we can see the only result will be the belated publication of a Martial Law Manual, which would probably minimise the tragedy in administering Martial Law if a need for it should arise in

The Hunter Committee's Report.

future. But even a Martial Law Manual need not be compiled at such a tremendous cost to the tax-payer. If the committee had been appointed to inquire into the root causes of the Punjab disorders and to advise on the best steps to be taken to prevent their recurrence, its appointment would have been justified in some measure. But the committee was appointed for no such useful purpose but merely to find out if General Dyer and other officers fired more ammunition into a rebellious crowd than the circumstances strictly warranted. The proceedings of the committee were in the nature of a coroner's inquest and the verdict is as indecisive........Anybody must have foreseen what the conclusions of the committee would be considering its composition, and opinion on the report is sharply divided. We have got besides the report lengthy despatches from the Government of India and the Secretary of State complimenting one another upon the political insight and statesmanship of each, which is as irrelevant to the matter in hand as the biographical sketches of Lord Hunter and his colleagues on the committee would have been.........Of course, no ordinance or law can be word-perfect and the proper administration of it has to be left to the good sense of those responsible for it. From the evidence recorded there is no questioning that excesses were committed in the name of Martial Law, which might have been avoided with a little care and prudence. But the broad fact remains that the officers had a most difficult situation to face and they faced it with resource and courage. The committee as a whole is agreed in attributing the trouble to the Satyagraha movement originated by Mr.Gandhi, It must however be noted that materials were ready in the Punjab to work up the population into a state of rebellion and the Satyagraha movement only set the fire to the train. The one lesson which

the Government should learn from the Punjab trouble is that it will not do in the interests of the commonwealth to allow even saintly idealists to play with fire. If the saints concerned will not or have not the prescience to recognise the fire, the Government ought to effectually prevent them from playing with it."

Janmabhumi, for the week ending 3rd June, has the following:--

"The Blockade of Truth.

"The truth has been blockaded for fourteen months and yet the authorities would not own it. A frank admission of the truth, a generous reparation made by a puissant Government to a nation strong in members but feeble in power, would have started the Englishman and the Indian on a new road and along a new career of fellowship and mutual good-will on to that international peace and amity which is justly regarded as the common destiny of all humanity. But that is not to be. The days of distrust and mutual recrimination are not yet numbered...... To say that there was organized rebellion in India in April 1919 is to hazard a statement which even the Hon'ble Mr.Shafi would not endorse; to justify the promulgation of Martial Law on this assumption is to build a ~~whole edifice~~ whole edidence on foundations of shifting sand; but to condone the antedated application of such Martial Law to events of earlier occurrence is but to perpetrate a heresy which India has little expected from a nation like the English. From end to end the Hunter Committee have whitewashed the official in the Punjab and Mr.Montagu has only given a second coat so as to screen the filth within from public gaze. It is no solace to India to say that O'Dwyer should not have bastened to approve of Dyer's

action, or that crawling should not have been blown before cannon mouth.......While there is manliness left in this ancient land, while there is a sense of national honour and a living regard for ideals, while there is the spirit of the ancient rishis that can court sorrow and suffering and endure them in silence, there still lies hope for Bharathavarsha. The Englishman will not listen to your prayers. Your petitions or yout protests. You discovered it long ago. He must be touched on the sensitive ~~xpxxtx~~ spot and that spot is his purse. Does your plan of action touch his economic well-being, his commerce and his wealth? If so he awakes fast enough to a sense of the realities around and measures national grief and national wrong in terms of his own puunds, shillings and pence terms which carry a meaning to him. Abstain from the use of British goods, for our grievance is against the Britisher and India's wrong may yet be repaired. If this is considered violence and aggressiveness, what are the alternatives? Non-co-operation or despair--non-co-operation from which you forebode danger and despair which is bound inevitably to lead to it."

The following appears in New India, of the 9th June:--
"The administration of Martial Law is dealt with in chapter XII of the Majority Report, and it is this administration that has sown the seeds of hatred and resentment, the growth of which can only be prevented by the vindication of British justice in the punishment of the officers who used their powers to humiliate and to terrorise the subjects of the King-Emperor, as though they had been a dested enemy in a newly conquered and unsubdued foreign land.......Those who want to know more of these abominations should read the official evidence--published by the Madras Liberal League--and also the Congress Committee's Report. Again we ask:-

Will the Imperial Government redeem British Justice by putting on trial the men condemned even in this report of a committee of four Anglo-Indians and one Englishman; and will they also act on the Minority Report? Only by such action can Britaan be saved from reaping the harvest of the seed sown in the Punjab."

In a leader under the heading 'Justice amok' the Hindu, of 9th June, comments as follows:-- "When a boy of 10 is arrested and sentenced for waging war against the King, it is difficult to resist the impression that justice has degenerated into broad farce. And yet, if the majority of the Hunter Committee are to be believed, the administration of justice under Martial Law would have done credit to a syndicate of Daniel, Solomon and Solon. In order to understand the nature of the justice that was meted out to the Punjab, it is necessary to consider the procedure adopted. With the Legality or otherwise of the Martial Law ordiance, and the consequent bearing upon the legality of the tribunals, we are not here concerned..... What the Privy Council has said, it has said, and if it had pleased that body to say black is white, India has no remedy. Whatever the correctness of the decision there is no question about its usefulness to a bureaucracy conscious of illegal acts. Even the comprehensive Indemnity Act scarce sufficed to reassure officialdom that the thing which was expedient to do could be brought within the four corners of the law. Those apprehensions have been dispelled and even that monstrosity, retrospective Martial Law, now flaunts it in the garments if not of respectability, at least of legality..........The picture one envisages from this mealy-mouthed description of the report is of a kindhearted police driven by the sheer

wickedness of the accused to put them on trial, of every opportunity being given them to clear themselves and finally of a Judge administering, with tears in his eyes, a little mild justice in their own interests. That is a little different from the reality. A corrupt police conscious of its abject failure during the actual disorders and anxious to make amends in the ways and by the methods possible to it, a police, the full and detailed description of whose activities it would take many columns of this journal to compass but an idea of which can be gathered from the volume of evidence published by the Congress Sub-Committee; tribunals whose method of procedure we have before noticed and which can only be compared in their freedom from the shackles of conventionality or decency to the tribunals of the Terror; a Bar in the last extremity of terror owing to police intimidation; evidence the motive force of which is aptly epitomised in the warning given by an officer to a witness about to give evidence; 'ya takht lo, ya takhta milega (choose between the throne and the gallows); and finally the nature of the findings, when a hartal meant waging war and a political speech disloyalty: and one has a better idea of the nature of the 'justice(Punjab got........That neither the Viceroy nor the Secretary of State had anything to say on the remarkable miscarriage of justice that necessitated first a sweeping reduction of sentences and then a general amnesty is significant of the prevailing official atmosphere of apologetic uneasiness and anxiety to wipe the slate clean. But India which has had so much less than justice has at least to see that her name is not smirched by implication, in the tepid conclusions of a committee that was content throughout its inquiry to run in official blinkers and on which the brand of the official apologist is indelibly impressed."

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The following appears in Justice of the 10th June under 'Calcutta Notes' :-- "Yes, taken on the whole, the Majority Report, with its obvious characteristic of being a document with a whitewashing' tendency, will only serve to deepen the impression in the public mind that when a body of Europeans entrusted with the destinies of a large section of the people agregiously err in the discharge of their trust, there will be found another body of their countrymen who will be ready to slur over their lapses and peccadilloes and condone them. No doubt, the impression is not a healthy one and jars on the feelings of regard and respect that we many of us have always cherished towards the Europeans--but then there it is now and cannot be helped!..........If thus the Majority Report had shown bias and ineptitude it was in the province of the Government of India to repudiate the inadequacy and insufficiency of the findings it had come to. That it has not done so will remain for ever a blot on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's Government. In their mealy-mouthed resolution, reading between the lines one finds a certain amount of silly shilly-shallying and confused equivocation, and, what is more, ample evidences of a disturbed conscience which, much against its promptings, succumbs to the temptations of the dominant impressions produced by the Majority Report."

Vernacular Papers

(1). Foreign Politics.

Indians in South Africa.

6. Referring to the recommendation said to have been made by the Commission of Inquiry in South Africa, that in view of the desire on the part of the majority of the Indians there to go back to India, the Union Government should afford them the necessary facilities for their return, if work is available for them in India, the Desabhaktan, of the 1st June, observes:--We do not know how far the statement that the majority of the Indians in South Africa are willing to go back to India, is true. This should be deemed to be a queer conclusion. We are at a loss to know why the details about the inquiries in South Africa are not communicated to us from time to time; nor is any information available as to what Sir Benjamin Robertson, who went there as the representative of the Government of India, is doing there. There are about 150,000 Indians in South Africa, the majority of whom are Madrasis. The whites there are bent on ousting all of them from colony. Perhaps the decision of the Commission of Inqurity will only help the accomplishment of that object. If so, it will be a victory indeed for the whites.

7. The Swadesamitran of the 2nd June , points to the interim recommendations of this commission and observes:--We are seriously afraid that the efforts made and the cry raised by the whites in South Africa to oust the Indians therefrom have to some extent begun to bear fruit. These recommendations will surely wound the feelings of any Indian. The commission seem to have based their recommendations on the evidence given by a few witnesses who were jealous of one or two Indians being in affluent circumstances in the colony. We condemned the constitution of the committee in the very beginning, but it was of no avail. The enemies

of the Asiatics in South Africa have resolved to turn out the Indians from there bag and baggage gradually. But it appears they would not compel them to embark. Perhaps this is our only consolation. The trouble has really begun.

Quoting the evidence given before this commission that it is a fact that the jewels and gold in the possession of Indians are confiscated by the Colonial Government before they embark for India, the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd June, remarks that perhaps even law permits this daylight robbery and asks whether this is the justice meted out to the Indians as British subjects.

The Desabhaktan, of the 2nd June, also refers to this subject and raises the question whether such measures have been adopted in any country professing to be a civilised one.

Indians in South Africa.

The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd June, reproduces in Tamil some of the telegrams received by the Times of India of Bombay, showing that the position of the Indians in South Africa is unenviable.

The nationalists in South Africa.

7. Remarking that the desire of the nationalists in South Africa is to separate from England and acquire complete liberty, and quoting a recent speech of General DeWet, in which he is reported to have stated that they could speedily achieve their object, if they are firm in their convictions and work with unabated zeal, and that they should only bow before England on bended knees, until she gets disgusted and asks them to have any form of Government they like, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd June, observes that perhaps the Seditious Meetings Act is not in force there!

The Bolsheviks in Persia.

8. The Desabhaktan, of the 5th June, writes:--The Minister for Foreign Affairs in Persia has sent a communication to the Secretary to the League of Nations that the spread of the Bolsheviks in Persia should be prevented. But no decision could become to on this matter as the Executive Council of the League has not yet met. It is said that the Bolsheviks will turn their attention to Persia only after capturing Georgia, Armenia and other territories. Mr.Bonar Law has very easily stated in Parliament that there is no Bolshevik danger at all in Persia. The Bolshevik movement has, for some time past, been showing its head in the eastern territories. We very much wish that the British Government are not indifferent in this matter.

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11. The Qaumi Report, of the 1st June, publishes on the editor's personal responsibility a special article on this subject in order to consider

The duty of Muhammadans.

the duty connected with non-co-operation with the Government. The first question to be considred is that of peace with ~~thexSx~~ Turkey. Some people in order to take away from the importance of the subject, say that the Turkish affair has little to do with India; but I, however, consider it to be a horrible oppression practised by the well-wishers of the Government under its influence. I cannot understand what difference there is between one Government and another, and how we can exercise our influence over a Foreign Government. It is true that the Indian Government is not responsible for peace, hence we should not oppose it. But what is the real position of the Indian Government. Why should the name Government be applied to an Administration which is incapable of declaring war or making peace. Has the Government admitted Lord Morley's dictum that the Viceroy of India is the Secretary of State's Agent in India? This relation can hold good to the Government with regard to the Turkish affair, but it gives the death blow to the Punjab affair. Has the Agent to the Secretary of State for India got power to introduce Martial Law and protect the oppressors? The Hunter Committee's report proves that the Indian Government possesses a status of its own in the upholding of which it hesitates to use the life and property of the people. Then there is no reason why the people should not be dissatisfied with it and give expression to that dissatisfaction. I consider that the Government of India is beyond measure responsible for peace with Turkey. It is the Indian Government that sent Indian representatives to Paris. This was the first and original blunder committed by the Indian Government for which it has to pay to-day.

The writer expresses dissatisfaction at the action of the Government of India in sending the Khilafat representation under Lord Sinha, etc., instead of under the Right Hon'ble Saiyad Ameer Ali, an able Muhammadan. Thus the Government of India is to be blamed for all its actions, vix., for not allowing Muhammadans with independent views to participate in the Peace Conference and for hiding up from them the proposed peace terms with Turkey until Constantinople was wrested from the Turks and the power of the Sheikhul Islam was reduced. These private agreements and secrets were not revealed to them.

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13. The Qaumi Report, of the 6th June, has another leader on the same subject in which it criticises the views of the Anglo-Indian press and of the Madras Times in particular against non-co-operation which they allege is the outcome of the Satyagraha movement.

The proposal of non-co-operation and Anglo-Indian press.

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12. The Qaumi Report, of the 5th June, commenting on the views of certain Anglo-Indian and moderate papers on the subject *of non-co-operation, remarks facts and deceive the Government, especially the Englishman of Calcutta in ridiculing the proposal of non-co-operation and misrepresenting to the Government that seven persons have started a protest against the proposal of non-co-operation not with the Government, but with the Khalafat committee itself by which it intends that the proposal of non-co-operation may be regarded with contempt by the Government.

Deluding the Government special article.

In fact, it is silly friendship and manifest deception.

The writer, in conclusion, suggests that whether any party or individual concurs in the proposal for non-co-operation or not, it is our duty to pay little heed to opponents, for we neither expect nor wait for any help from the Government in that direction.

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23. The Desabhaktan, of the 29th May, contains the lectures said to have been delivered on the 26th idem by Dr.T.V.S.Sastriyar of Trichinopoly and the Hon'ble Mr.B.V.Narasimha Ayyar at Tiruvanaikkaval wherein the following remarks occur:--

Lectures at Tiruvanaikkaval.

Mr.T.V.S.Sastriyar.--The preachings of Mr.Gandhi in regard to satyagraha and the Swadesi vow and the advice of our leaders about non-co-operation with the Government should be followed by all the people.

Mr.B.V.Narasimha Ayyar.--It is only God that can help us; neither any other man nor the Government can do it. There is only one way of accomplishing our object and that is the adoption of Satyagraha, which succeeded in South Africa. It will, of course, be disparaging to the Government. We do these things only to lower the prestige. We can have happiness only if we acquire swaraj. We have forgotten the qualities of the lion in us and we are under a delusion. This delusion should be cast off first. The lustre of mother Bharata should shine. If anything blocks her welfare, it should be kicked out. Our rulers belong to a different race and we are suffering like slaves.

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24. Continuing its comments on this report, the Desabhaktan, of the 29th May, remarks that the letter of the Government of India reviewing the report will cause even greater dissatisfaction than the Despatch of the Secretary of State and adds:--It is really regrettable that the Viceroy, who is not capable of realising his responsibility and discharging his duty, should have twisted the cause of the Punjab troubles and attributed them to the satyagraha movement. Those who attribute the troubles to satyagraha do not evidently understand the principle underlying it. It is those that did not take the satyagraha vow that committed highhanded acts. But satyagraha did not fail to have an effect even upon these. It is the presence of a few true satyagrahis that helped to abate the excitement of the fanatic crowd. The Viceroy has not, perhaps, still realised that the Satyagrahis resolged not to transgress all laws but only such as they deemed to be unreasonable! Lord Chelmsford should understand that there is a great difference between committing an offence and then acting contrary to laws in self-protection and refusing to obey unreasonable laws. The Government of India regret that the executive administration should have been handed over to the Military authorities, even before the declaration of martial law and, remarking that they have not yet spotted the officials that are responsible for this, say ~~that they have not yet spotted the officials that are responsible for this,~~ say that they intend making an inquiry about it further. We are greatly surprised that our Viceroy, having a responsibility on his shoulders, could not find time till now to make this inquiry. We do not understand what he was doing without attending to such important matters. If he had realised his responsibility, he would

The report of the Hunter Committee.

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have urn up to the Punjab even when troubls had cropped up there and, ascertaining the truth personally, taken the the necessary steps. How couldhe be ignorant of the parties that handed over the administration to the military? Is Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was then the head of the Province, also unaware of it? Though the authorities in the Punjab did not obtain the permission of the Viceroy, should they not have apprised him of the situation? Our opinion is that one who did not mind this is not fit to be the Viceroy. The Government of India say that Sir Michael O'Dwyer would have done better if he had ascertained the details about the firing, before the approved of the actions of General Dyer. As there is room to believe that the latter acted only in accordance with the wishes of the former, it will not do to say that Sir Michael was unaware of the details of the firing. A greater responsibility rests on Sir Michael in this matter than on General Dyer. The Viceroy has evidently refrained from saying much of Sir Michael only under the impression that, if his mistakes are exposed, his own irresponsibility will be betrayed. We strongly condemn the statement of the Government of India that Mr.Gandhi was rightly prevented from ~~saying much of Sir Michael only under the impression that, if his mistakes are exposed, his own~~ entering Delhi and the Punjab, as he was the leader of a movement to subvert the Government. The world will laugh if Mr. Gandhi is said to be an enemy of the Government. Let the Viceroy note now at least that Mr. Gandhi who stands by truth, will only condemn the illegal acts of the officials and bears no hatred against the Government. We will definitely assert that the troubles in Amritsar and other places were only the outcome of the inability of the Government to understand Mr.Gandhi aright and take proper

steps. The Government of India conclude by warning those who start dangerous movements for the purpose of creating trouble. This warning is no doubt necessary. But it is incorrect to hold that trouble can be caused only by movements like the satyagraha. We are very sorry that the Viceroy has failed to realise that it is the thoughtless acts of the officials that chiefly lead to trouble and unrest. Lord Chelmsford's Government would have done well to give this warning to the officials. It is indeed ridiculous that the Government of India should have written this letter, after failing in their duty at a critical juncture. We think Lord Chelmsford could not have escaped like this, if a Royal Commission had inquired about the Punjab troubles.

The Report of the Hunter Committee.

Referring to the encomiums showered on Lord Chelmsford by the Secretary of state, the Swadesamitran, of the 1st June, writes:--The words of Mr. Montagu are reported to voice the final view of the British Cabinet. What was the necessity for the British Government to give expression openly to their confidence in the Viceroy at this juncture? Mr.Montagu says in his despatch that rules should be framed immediately for the guidance of officials in case martial law has to be exercised again at any time, and that, though martial law may be a necessary remedy in certain circumstances, its merit will diminish unless it is applied with a sound and calm judgment. We take this to mean that in the opinion of Mr.Montagu such good and sound judgment was not exercised in the circumstances now under consideration. Mr.Montagu's statement again, that some of the military officials do not seem to have realised that they were exercising authority, not in an enemy country, but over the

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subjects of His Majesty, makes us think that he has not expressed in his despatch his real opinion of the administration of Lord Chelmsford, who was at the head of all ~~these~~these officials. It is a long established truth that the British will never betray their officials, and the case of Lord Clive in past history may be quoted as an instance. The atrocities committed by the military officials in the Punjab were published from time to time and Lord Chelmsford ought to have known of the misery of the people. If he had any humanity in him or if he had regarded the people of the Punjab as His Majesty's subjects, he should have gone to the Punjab immediately and ascertained the truth. But he did not budge from his seat. He did not realise that his duty consisted only in meting out justice to the people. He was anxious to protect only the officials. To quote an example, it is stated in the report of the Hunter Committee that, though the Government of India were not prepared to interfere with the order of the military officer that no pleaders of other provinces should enter the Punjab to defend the accused before the martial law tribunals, they deemed the order to be a foolish one. This only proves that the Government of India did not realise their responsibility. How can we have any regard for a government, which was discussing the propriety or otherwise of its interference when when the people were suffering misery and mistakes were being committed? Who would be benefited by the Government of India merely thinking that the order is a foolish one? But the Hunter Committee have given them a certificate even for thinking so. If every official is to be allowed to act as he likes, why should there be a Central Government and a Viceroy? There was only a short distance between the head-quarters of Lord Chelmsford and the Punjab. If he had a sense of humanity, sound statesmanship and

and strength of mind, he would have gone to the Punjab forthwith and taught a lesson to the officials there. Without doing t is, he was allowing time to pass by and that he should now be informed by Mr. Montagu that the British Government are grateful to him and have complete confidence in him only gives room for some suspicion about Mr. Montagu's real opinion of him. Lord Chelmsford knows that the Indians do not like his continuing to be at the helm of the administration here. He might have thought that his resignation before this would tantamount to an admission of the failure of his administration. Now that the British Government have bestowed praise on him, will he resign at least hereafter?

Expressing its surprise at the Hunter Committee having exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer in spite of the 'patent' fact of his having abused his powers and afflicted the people of the Punjab, the Desabhaktan, of the 1st June, details the ways in which Sir Michael illtreated the people and says:--How can we expect complete justice from this committee? They have conducted the inquiry and submitted a report agreeably to the wishes of the Government of India. The exornation of Sir Michael itself proves the real attitude of this committee. His speeches show that he did not consider the people of the Punjab and especially the popular leaders to be human beings. That he should have been praised, not only by the Hunter Committee but also by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, only provokes laughter. That an irresponsible official like him should go unpunished under the just and benign British Government is a stain upon the fair name of that Government.

The Swadesamitran, of the 2nd June, characterises Sir Michael O'Dwyer as the creator of disturbances in the

Punjab and, referring to the encomiums showered upon him by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, observes:-- When the Government of India and the British Government have vied with each other in praising Sir Michael's administration during and before the Punjab disturbances respectively, it only remains to set up a statue to him. While the Indian public are of opinion that his administration was the very cause of the disturbances, the British Government have come forward to grant him a certificate of merit and have thereby lowered their presitge in the eyes of the Indians. No other official has insulted the Indian public as much as Sir Michael did. (Here the paper details instances for this) Had ~~only~~ any one else been in authority in the Punjab during the satyagraha agitation, the incidents which occurred there in April 1919 would never have occurred; and again, if Sir Michael had been in any other province, he would have brought about such occurrences there. His object was never to put down disturbances but only to put down men. He was provoked by the Indians demanding liberty and Home Rule. Some opine that he tried to incite a disturbance to serve as a plea for crushing the people. The Rowlatt agitation was carried on in every province. Why did not the rulers of other provinces extern leaders as Sir Michael did? We have only to conclude that the heads of other provinces did not wish to create a disturbance as Sir Michael did. If this view is correct, then all his expectations were realized. The Indians will consider Sir Michael responsible for all that occurred later and the consequential misery of the people. The fact that the Government of India have come xxxxx forward to express their gratitude to Sir Michael, instead of impeaching him in a court of law and trying to recover from him compensation for the losses caused

by him, and that the British Government are playing second fiddle to them, makes it clear that they do not care for the good will of the Indians. Nearly ten lakhs of rupees of India's money would have been spent on the Hunter Committee, and we have succeeded in getting certificates to Sir Michael from this committee, the Government of India and the British Government at such a juge cost. We are indeed fortunate!

The report of the Hunter Committee.

In continuing its comments on this report, the Desabhaktan, of the 2nd June, explains how it was the "thoughtless and high-handed acts of the authorities in the Punjab" that led to the disturbances there and giving a harrowing description of the way in which popular leaders and even women were treated by the military officials, adds:--The Police officials freely exacted bribes from innocent men by afflicting them. They joined with the military in robbing the people. The military authorities gathered Indian women like cattle and insulted and afflicted them in several ways. They made the Police constables remove the cloths of women and committed atrocities which even animals would not do. Are the Hunter Committee aware of all these incidents?

Reiterating the events that led to the massacre at Amritsar, the Desabhaktan, of the 3rd June, observes:-- The object of General Dyer was only to terrify the people of the Punjab and he succeeded in it. The massacre at Jallianwallah struck terror in the minds not only of the people of the Punjab but of the whole world. But the adoption, by the military officials in the Punjab, of the cruel ways of the Germans reduced the confidence of the Indians in, and their love for, the British Government.

If the Indians are to forget this injustice, it is the duty of the British Government to render justice to them. Now every one knows what kind of justice the Hunter Committee have meted out. Where is justice?

Anent the decision of the committee that the introduction of martial law in the Punjab was justifiable, the Swadesamitran, of the 3rd June, says:--If the committee had not come to this conclusion, they would have caused great disappointment to those that brought them into existence; for, if they had decided to the contrary, they would have in effect declared that the Viceroy was unfit to occupy that seat and that Sir Michael O'Dwyer had misled the Vicery, again the ppsition of General Dyer and others who exercised martial law even before it was formally declared, would have become very difficult. The moment General Dyer fired his shot in the Jallianwallah Bagh, there arose the necessity of introducing martial law as his action had to be justified, and we take it that this was the reason for Sir Michael O'Dwyer seeking the permission of the Viceroy on the 13th April, to introduce martial law. The Hunter Committee have now extended protection to all. But, all the same, it was not proved that there was a necessity for the introduction of martial law. Neither of the two conditions precedent to the introduction of martial law existed in the case of the Punjab, as there was no war with the enemy there in April last and all disturbances can amount to a rebellion, the excitement of the people was caused only by the externment of Dr. Satya Pal and others and they calmed down the moment they had vented their wrath. Is this an open rebellion for subverting the Government? The Deputy Commissioner of the Guzarat district was surprised at the application of martial law in that district, for everything was quiet there. All the same martial law did continue in the district. When the

Government of the Punjab were thus prepared to introduce martial law even in laces which were quiet, there is no wonder in their exaggerating a small disturbances as an open rebellion. The suggestion of Sir Michael to Lord Chelmsford that, if the latter had any doubts about the propriety of the continuance of martial law, a notification could well be issued assigning the war with Afghanistan as a reason for it, clearly shows his attitude. He wanted martial law not with reference to the condition of the ~~country~~ country but in order to accomplish his object. It was relying upon his first telegram that the Viceroy gave sanction for the introduction of martial law. * This is another instance to show that birds of a feather flock together. The very principle of martial law is meeting force by force, and Mr. Montagu has stated that the policy of the British Government is to use as little force as possible. It is for our readers to judge whether the force things were done in the Punjab only on this principle, whether the people made an attempt to subvert the Government by the use of force and whether the force used by the Government was the least that could have been applied.

Continuing its remarks on this report, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 4th June, observes, that though India is said to have an equal status in the British Empire, the exercise of martial law in the Punjab do not seem to have recognised this. The Government of India have passed the Indemnity Act, so as to prevent us from seeking any remedy for the unjust acts committed by them and the Hunter Committee too have whitewashed the affair. The committee themselves admit that the punishment of whipping was resorted to an undue extent and suggest that the right of the military officials to have recourse to whipping should be curtailed. But, seeing that those officials went on whipping persons in the Punjab even after Sir Michael himself raised his voice against it, we can easily guess how far they would act upon

the suggestion of the committee if martial law is exercised again. Those who act cruelly will not learn a lesson, unless they are condemned. The observation of the committee that, as there is a great gulf between the punishments inflicted originally and those as reduced subsequently by the Government, there is room to say that the former were very severe, may make one doubt whether the committee find fault with the infliction of severe punishments in the beginning or their reduction later. If they had thought that the original punishments (~~in the beginning or their reduction later. If they had thought that the original punishments~~) were unnecessarily severe, couldthey not have said one word condemning the officials concerned? As the Indemnity Act has secured them protection, such condemnation wouldnot have affected them in any way. That they had not one strong word to say even under these circumstances proves that birds of a feather flock together. Those who read the report of the committee have only to conclude that the committee have tried to prove that the British official can never go wrong. How can we expect any remedy by complaining against such officials?

The SWADESAMITRAN, reverts to this subject in its issue of 7th June and observes:--Though it was expected in a way that the Hunter Committee would extend protection to the officials that committed atrocities in the Punjab and those that supported them, it was also expected that they would suggest safeguards on the lines of the British law for preventing the rights of subjects being denied to them in the future. But their report has caused a disappointment even here and the acceptance of the report by the British Government has created a new fear about the future.
In all civilised countries, the executive officers are empowered to introduce martial law at a critical juncture. But they can exercise their authority only with reference to those that are caught red-handed in the act of rebellion.

Neither the Hunter Committee nor the British Government have pronounced against this. So, if the ~~Committee nor~~ Viceroy likes, he can magnify law arbitrarily, as he did in the Punjab, and all that occurred in the Punjab may be repeated in the place where martial law is so introduced. Thus, though law permits, in another countries, the suppression of those that actually take part in a rebellion, the Viceroy in India seems to have power to enact a law for the punishment of even the innocent people in that area. If so, we ask whether the rule established here is British rule. According to British, law, if a territory belonging to the enemy is captured during a war, martial law cannot be exercised even in the case of ordinary people in that territory. Have not the Indian subjects of His Imperial majesty even the privileges of the subjects of enemy countries? If the conduct of the Viceroy in declaring, against the specific provisions of the regulation of 1804, that all the people in the rural and urban areas of the district, where there was a disturbance, ~~people~~ should be brought under martial law is deemed to be proper, every one will have to doubt whether India is governed justly according to law or arbitrarily by a foreign race? The officials who exercised martial law, the Hunter Committee who inquired about their actions and His Majesty's Government who have passed final orders on their report seem to be actuated only by one principle and that is that the subject race in India is bound to be subservant to and afraid of the ruling race and that the latter is entitled to demonstrate its superiority, if any among the former swerve from this duty and create a rebellion ignoring any members of the ruling race, by punishing not only the culprits but also all the members of the subject race in the area concerned, until they learn a lesson. Even the Secretary of State has hinted in a way that, when the life of Europeans is in danger, any thing possible

under martial law can be done. If the view of the Government is that the life of the European is invaluable in India, and that anything can be done, when that life is endangered, what is the meaning of selfgovernment, political reforms and co-operation? If the life of the European is more valuable than the life, property and liberty of the Indian, they can say that they are governing us by force. We regret to note that judging from the Despatches of the Secretary of State and the Government of India, they seem to accept this view.

The Hunter Committee's report

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 1st June, contains in English and Telugu the opinions of professor V.G.Kale and the Hon'ble Mr.Paranjpye on the Hunter Committee's report, as expressed to a representative of the Associated Press.

The Hunter Committee's Report--III

The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 2nd June, continues to cricise the Hunter Committee's report as follows:--The JALIAN WALLA BHAG DISTURBANCE.--On the 10th the Jalianwalla Bhag disturbance was quelled without recourse to martial law. The town was peaceful on the 11th. On the 12th, General Dyer went round the town with a military force. Many were arrested for disturbances caused on the 10th. Martial law was not declared by that time. It is not understood why, after peace was secured, the Civil authorities entrusted the responsibility of Government to military officers. How inhumanly General Dyer opened fire on the people without giving them any previous warning, is an old story. According to the Congress estimate there were 1,200 deaths, and 3,600 were wounded. It may be said that these are correct figures. When fire was opened on a large number of people assembled at one place, would it not be derogatory to the valour of General Dyer if at least this measure of casualties had not happened. Sir Michael O'Dwyer expressed his immediate approval of these inhuman acts, and the Government

of India and the Secretary of State have expressed their appreciation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's capability.

Was the application of martial law necessary?..... When there was neither riot nor rebellion, what did General Dyer suppress? What did he save? ....It is regrettable that His Excellency the Governor-General yielded to the wishes of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The Indians cannot approve of the eulogy bestowed on Sir Michael O'Dwyer by Mr.Montagu.......From official evidence, it is plain that martial law was enforced to avoid recurrence of offences in the future, to ~~hace~~ have the offences tried summarily and to punish the people well. The Indian members had plainly stated that it was improper to apply the martial law for these purposes.......The Punjab Government have adduced very lame reasons for the declaration of martial law and for its long continuance. The acts of the Punjab authorities help to tarmish the fame of England. It is necessary that England should manifest to the world her devotion to duty and love of justice and maintain her honour. Neither the report of the Hunter Committee nor the order thereon of Mr.Montagu can bring about that end. The Indian authorities have let slip a good opportunity. It will be well for the Parliament at least to try to maintain the honour of England by respecting Indian public opinion and deciding the matter accordingly. It appears that the Americans have directed their attention to the situation in the Punjab and that they are disgusted with the acts of persons like General Dyer. If the Parliament do not, under such circumstances, do justice, the prestige of England cannot but suffer. The Punjab problem has at present to be satisfactorily solved. The Irish, the Egyptian and the Indian questions are awaiting settlement. We hope that the Parliament which is the birthplace of independence, will take into account the

the conditions of the world, see the responsibility of England, maintain its own honour and win unsurpassed reputation in the world.

The Hunter Committee's Report--IV.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 3rd June, continues its criticism as follows under this heading:--The method of the administration of martial law.--The readers will have seen that there was no necessity for the introduction of martial law or for its long continuance. Mr.Montagu had to admit that it was administered in a very cruel manner. The methods of General Dyer have agitated the whole world. He admitted that he had recourse to murderous acts not out of any temporary excitement but deliberately. His motive was not to disperse the crowd but to teach the people a lesson. He wanted to do further destruction with machine guns, but fortunately the laws did not permit their being taken. Not only he but many others committed such inhuman acts. The houses in the street to which General Dyer's crawling order related had no openings on the back. General Dyer asked if the people could not walk on roofs and thus betrayed his perversity. The Hunter Committee admits that the whipping and other punishments were humiliating. It may be surmised how cruel it was to use aeroplanes. When the Germans did such things, they were scorned by the whole civilised world. From the evidence, it will be seen that the motive of such acts was to teach the people a lesson. It is said that it was Sir Michael O'Dwyer that first suggested the sending of aeropalnes to Gujranwala. The Congress Committee's report records many instances to show the ridiculous nature of the trials of the Martial Law Courts. They passed death sentences on 108 persons, and transportation sentences on 265 persons. Out of these 23 were confirmed in the case of the former and 2 in that of the latter. From this

it can be understood what sense of justice the Martial Law Courts had shown. Even Mr.Montagu regretted that the European members had treated the question of the horrible administration of martial law lightly without subjecting it to strong criticism......From the report of the Congress Committee, it will be seen what more cruel acts have been done and the readers of that report will wonder if such things could be possible in the twentieth century.

Mahatma Gandhi's service to the country. It will be seen that the deportations of Messrs. Kitchlu and Satyapal and the internment of Mr.Gandhi are the chief causes of Punjab disorders. Mr.Gandhi is a messenger of peace. Not only the authorities but the moderates too were not able to understand his noble intentions. Even the Indians members in the Hunter Committee, in our opinion could not understand his message. He never incites any violence but always works to spread harmlessness. Had he not preached peaceful methods in regard to the Rowlatt Law and the Khalafat question, there might have been greater misdeeds perpetrated. In one way or another, the people u would protest against acts which they do not like. It has been admitted in every country that when agitation fails passive resistance should be resorted to. Of peaceful methods there is none more efficient than that of Mr. Gandhi. Under such circumstances, it is regrettable that all parties should find fault with him. If Mr.Gandhi had been permitted to go to the Punjab, he could have prevented all exasperation and averted all disorders. He did so in Ahmedabad and averted the need for the declaration of martial law........Judging from the methods adopted in the several provinces, it is plain that the Punjab authorities were unnecessarily panic-stricken and brought about the unrest. In a separate chapater, the Congress Committee has distinctly stated that Sir Michael O'Dwyer's recruiting and war loan campaigns and his acts of repression had sown

the seeds of unrest in the Punjab. The European members of the Hunter Committee could not trace the disorders to their true causes. The majority report records in one place that disgusting methods were followed in recruiting soldiers......At a critical juncture, the Government of the Punjab and the Government of India lost their courage and were overcome by fear. A careful perusal of the Hunter Committee's report will show that the conclusions arrived at by the Congress Committee are very fair. It is disappointing that Mr.Montagu has approved of the main conclusions in the majority report, criticised the acts of General Dyer only and praised Sir Michael O'Dwyer and His Excellency the Viçeroy who were equally responsible.

Be the report of the Hunter Committee as it may, the people should learn that there can be no use unless they make unceasing effort to secure their birth-rights and also self-government.

The Hunter Committee's Report.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 4th June, is gratified to learn that the All-India Congress Committee assembled at Benares has passed a resolution disapproving of the minority report so far as it censures Mr.Gandhi's satyagraha movement.

The Hunter Committee's report.

In reviewing the Hunter Committee's report, the Desabhimani, of the 30th May, says:--The report is characterised by partiality, and makes it clear that British justice has become barren. The fact that Mr.Montagu has stooped to justify the declaration of martial law warrants the conclusion that he is caught in the meshes of the bureaucrats and has lost his sense of justice and manliness. Mr.Montagu has, by his

meaningless order, helped to exasperate the people and cause them disappointment. It is, therefore, improper to let him still hold the office of Secretary of State.

Hunter Committee's Report.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 28th May, publishes the opinions of papers such as the Pioneer, the Leader, the Bombay Chronicle and the Empire on the Report of the Hunter Committee.

The Hunter Committee's report.

In the course of a lengthy leader under the heading "the report has at least seen the light of day" and another article, the Swadesabhimani, of the 4th June, observes:--Owing to the wanton sport of the Blood thirsty General Dyer, thousands of innocent lives were lost. This fact has been admitted by both the Government of India and Mr.Montagu, and they have accorded to him for having committed this crime the punishment that he shall not be given employment anywhere in India! The Government of India and Mr.Montagu who have been so severe in the case of General Dyer, the hero of the tragedy have not forgotten to pat on the back of Sir Michael O'Dwyer who xxxxxxxx is another important character therein. His services have been warmly recognised though he is only the elder brother of General Dyer. It is not known how Mr.Montagu will repay Sir Michael the immense services that he rendered to the British Empire. Probably he will give him the gadi of a provincial administrator.

The report has caused deep surprise and pain to the Indian press. Even though the disturbances in the Punjab and in other places, and the ruthless way in which martial law was administered are so wellknown to all, the Hunter Committee was able to explain these events in a totally different manner, and this explanation has been assented to by Mr.Montagu and Government of India as well. Is this not

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Is this not really as surprising as it is deplorable? We do not know how one can continue to cherish the fair name of British justice after seeing the report and Mr.Montagu's decisions thereon. We do not know what, even apart from Indian opinion, the other European nations and America will think when they read this report When we remember however that 'the child shows the man' and recollect the way in which the committee was constituted, we ought not to feel surprised at the results it has come to.

It would be interesting to know the opinion of Lord Sydenham who still has something in him of the arch-bureaucrate he was at one time. In addition to praising both Sir Michael and the Government of India for the successful way in which they handled the situation, he goes one step further and upholds the doings of General Dyer. When Dyer himself was in a fix as to how he should defend himself, is it not very strange that this ex-Governor at this advanced age should attempt to defend those misdeeds in a manner which even (inexperienced) young men would be ashamed of? Such are the wonders wrought by Father Time.

On the same subject, the Mysore Star, of the 6th June, remarks:--The report and the Government's action thereon have not satisfied even a single political party. The usual criticism is that the committee's findings have done something like throwing dust into one's eye rather than establish the fair name of British justice. The protests raised by the Congress party, the agitation in connection with the Turkish peace terms, etc., all point to a critical situation. This state of things can never help to establish the tranquillity which is so desirable at the time of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The fire of indignation in Indian minds would have been quenched to some extent if one or two persons at least who were responsible for the Punjab atrocities had been duly punished in order to vindicate British justice. But the Indians think that the present report as well as the decisions of the authorities thereon are indicative of deep racial differences.

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26. The Desabhaktan, of the 2nd June, reproduces in Tamil under this heading an article of Mr. Joseph Baptista to the Bombay Chronicle stating that General Dyer is clearly guilty of culpable homicide amounting to murder and can be prosecuted therefor in any court of law here or in England.

"General Dyer must be hanged."

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34. The Swadesamitran, of the 5th June, quotes an extract from an article of the New York American comparing the actions of General Dyer at Jallianwalla Bagh to the atrocities committed by the Germans in Belgium, and adds:--

The actions of General Dyer.

Not only in America but also in England and other places have many respectable men strongly condemned the Punjab massacres. What of that? The person mainly responsible for them has escaped honourably. He who committed the massactes has been subjected to a mild condemnation. The Empire is going on still!

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38. The Desabhimani, of the 30th May, writes as follows in the course of its leader under this heading:--The system of mandates for the benefit of other nations is the cause of half the evils of the world. By virtue of this, the big nations are troubling the innocent and helpless small nations on the pretext of teaching civilisation to the latter. The individual or nation seeking to do good fails to see that the individual or nation for whom the good is intended has a genius different from his or its own. Foreign rulers attempt to stamp on the ruled their own characteristics which are opposed to the traditions of the ruled. The system of mandates for the good of others thus helps only to destroy freedom.

Self-determination.

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43. The Andhrapatrika, of the 7th June, says in its leader under this heading:--

Special Indian Congress meeting.

The inquiry by the Hunter Committee and the strange attitude of the English Cabinet towards the Khilafat problem, have shaken the confidence of the people in the pledges of the authorities. To add to this, the publication of the rules under the Reforms Act has promoted the spread of despondency in the country. The rules are the life of the Reforms Act. The Reforms which are unsatisfactory have become more futile on account of the rules. Even the little faith the public placed in the reforms at the time of the Amritsar Congress meeting is at present vanishing........ If in the Parliament, the Reforms rules are not amended, the Turkish question is not solved to the satisfaction of the Muhammadans, and the report of the Hunter Committee is supported, the policy of non-co-operation is their only resort.

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45. Referring to the invitation to hold the special session of the Congress at Berhampur, the Andhrapatrika, of the 8th June, says:- If the report of the Hunter Committee, the rules framed by the Government of India and the Khilafat problem are not disposed of favourably, the Indians cannot but follow the lead of Mr.Gandhi and remove the wrongs done to India. A special session of the Congress will soon be held to discuss these important matters.' It is the duty of the Andhras to gain the honour of holding the session in their country.

A special session of the Congress.

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52. Referring under this heading the report of the Hunter Committee, the Kistnapatrika, of the 5th June, observes:--Lord Sinha had assured us that the Hunter Committee would maintain the traditions of British justice. The report is out. Can Lord Sinha now venture to say that it upholds those traditions? The chief lesson that we have learnt from our childhood is that "love of justice" is a special feature of the British people. Our educated people refer to this at every step, and Lord Sinha asked us not to forget this fact. The time has come when we have to discard this doctrine and the Indians are not responsible for this......The English members of the Hunter Committee showed that they hold the supremacy of the British Empire dearer to their hearts than justice. Let alone that what has Mr.Montagu done? ....He not only vindicated the application of martial law, but also declared that the killing of men in Jallianwalla Bagh was in some measure inevitable, and the intentions of General Dyer were pure. How could he have the tongue to declare so! When the valur and courage of Sir Michael O'Dwyer won his praise, what wonder is there that he approved of the indifference of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford? ....There is now cause for the spread among the people of the belief that the British justice is a mere myth. The rulers could not see the undesirability of giving room for such a want of faith on the eve of the coming visit of Indiaby the Prince of Wales. Even the moderates, who are the friends of Mr.Montagu, with the single exception of Mrs.Besant are disatisfied with his orders. Even the Justice which generally upholds the arbitrary measures of the bureaucracy has expressed its dissatisfaction. ....Does Lord Sinha now at least see that India has

Disappointment.

been dishonoured? Will he resign his seat in the seat in the Parliament as incompatitle with his self-respect? If he does not, meetings must be held in every town in India, to adopt resolutions that Lord Sinha should renounce his titles, in response to the report of the Hunter Committee. If this is done, the prestige of India willbe publ shed not only to the Empire but also to the world.

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55. A correspondent to the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 8th June in the course of an article condemning the views expressed by the editor of the Vritanta Patrike in justifying the order of the Mysore Government that Panchama boys should be admitted to the common public schools in the States, observes:-- Even His Excellency the Governor of Madras has said that this model State has come to such a pass that the Mysore Government is openly spoken of as being devoid of discretion.

The social disabilities of the Panchamas.

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57. In an article under this heading, the Kanthirava,

Racial prejudice.

of the 1st June, observes:-- Though attempts have been made among many nations to attain equality of feeling and treatment through self-determination and equality of status, it is a pity that racial hatred is seen to be increasing every day. The humiliation caused to Japan in the attempt to establish equality of nations in the League of Nations, the many diplomatic devices sought for wiping out Turkish authority, the gigantic efforts made for keeping Egypt, Syria, Persia, etc, under close grip are things that would enrage every thoughtful being. Evidently, the pitiable condition of South East Africa should also be viewed in this light. It is true that the glory of the British flag is there as in any other part of their Empire on which the sun never sets. Yet Indians have no right to own lands there, nor have they any hand in the Government. But there are numberless laws and regulations to bind him, and taxes to pay which are enought to drive him out of the country. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that these repulsive excesses tend to break the heart of educated Infians, and designate the author of these enormities, the white-skinned man, a shameless and hard-hearted brute.

For the week ending 19th June 1920.

NO. 25 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k) General.

1. The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 9th June, writes:--"The Government of Madras have just appointed a board to advise them on labour questions; and we have nothing to say against the personnel of the Board, though we should like to see one or two names omitted from it. But, generally speaking, the composition of the Board is unsatisfactory for the reason that most of the members do not possess first-hand knowledge of labour conditions, though they may be interested in labour problems. The Government should not make the mistake of thinking that because a man is interested in labour questions he is likely to know much about them. Frankly speaking, the politically minded amongst us are interested in the labouring classes only so far as they could be made a catspaw of in their propaganda work. Beyond that their solicitude for the labourers does not go. We do not know what this new Board is expected to do in solving the labour problem. The frequent strikes are by no means a sign that the labourers are an organised body and they are fighting for what they believe to be their rights. On the other hand, they are the outcome of a mischievous propaganda organised by political agitators who have nothing else to do. If the object of the Government is to end strikes by means of this Board, they are in for disappointment."

Labour Advisory Board, Madras.

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3. The following appears in the West Reformer of the 11th June:--

Indians in South Africa.

"Indians to be repatriated.

"The South African Government continues to irritate the Indian people by its unsympathetic attitude towards Indian settlers in spite of the very excellent imperialistic (rather commonwealth) sentiments uttered by General Smuts and such light placed men. They have now proposed, nay decided, to send back as many Indians as possible from South Africa to India, according to the recommendations of the 'Asiatic Commission' The repatriation is to be on a voluntary basis, but it can easily become compulsory in effect, because the feelings against the Indians and the latter's helpless condition are well known. The Indians who submit to this decision will be allowed to carry their savings in gold coins and jewellery: Besides this interesting concession, the Government will provide shipping facilities for the home-going Indians. It is also said that some consideration will be given to the question whether these Indians can find employment in India. Very generaous indeed. But what is the opinion of the Indians concerned and of the Government of India."

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4. In the seventh article dealing with the Hunter Committee's Report, New India, of the 14th June, in writing against Sir Michael O'Dwyer's action in proclaiming Martial Law, observes as follows:--"Only by Martial Law, ante-dated to include constitutional political agitation, could he (Sir Michael O'Dwyer) clear away the politicians who had stood against his tyranny. On the 7th April he extolled the loyalty of the Punjab as greater than that of any other Province; on the 13th he asked for Martial Law His agents burnt and looted villages, even as the Police--who remained quiescent while the Europeans were murdered whose lives they could have saved, and the buildings destroyed at which they looked on as they were burning--were found in possession of some of the loot put down to the rioters. In view of the overwhelming testimony gathered by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the National Congress, the only amends that can now be made to the tens of thousands who suffered under Martial Law is the cancellation of allthe sentences passed by the tribunals, and the setting free of all the men they punished. A few guilty of some petty offences may be liberated, but that is better than the punishment of the many innocent. There are plenty of criminals on the Government side--doctors who refused to aid the wounded, soldiers who struck away water from the fainting and used the well in the crawling lane as a latrine, that the women and children in the lane might be lett waterless. They have stained the name of their country for humanity, as the tribunals have stained it for justice. We can afford to leave them all to their guilty consciences, to the execration of posterity, and the suffering hereafter to be brought on them by the working of the karmic law........ India has reason to be grateful for the splendid services

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Martial Law in the Punjab.

rendered by the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narain. Sir C.H.Setalwad and Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmed Khan. No men could have done more than they did, but when they read the evidence of some who suffered under Martial Law, they will cry like the Queen of Sheba, but in horror, not in admiration: "Behold, the half was not told me!' no, nor the hundredth part."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.-- FOREIGN POLITICS.

Indians in the colonies.

7. Remarking that, though it is proclaimed everywhere that, subsequent to the war, the Europeans have greatly reformed their administrative methods, the condition of the Indians in the colonies clearly shows that those adopting the reformed policy have not understood how to treat the Indians properly, the Desabhaktan, of the 9th June, writes:--Those who want to extend their territories care only for the interests of the whites and ignore those of the Indians. The whites in Africa are trying to oust the Indians from there; those in the Fiji Islands wish to make a profit by keeping the Indians as slaves for ever; and the Indians in the Malay States, who number over two lakhs, fare no better. In the last case, though the Indians occupy a responsible position in that country next to the Chinese, they do not enjoy the right of sending their representatives to the Legislative Council, and they have no seats in the District Sanitary Committees except in one district. It is very surprising that no Indian has been appointed even on the Indian Emigration Committee, whose purpose is to safeguard the interests of the Indians. It is regrettable that only persons belonging to communities that hate the Indians

have been appointed to the minor posts in the Emigration Department. It is needless to say what benefit will be derived by appointing to these posts men who have no sympathy for the Indians. We understand that the Indians in the Malay States are very much discontented, because their representatives are not occupying responsible posts. Indians with education, wealth and capacity are not wanting there. Three of the Jaffna Tamilians, who number less than the Indians, are judges there. We do not see why the Indians have not been given such honour and privileges, in spite of their having very enthusiastically contributed to the war fund and charitable institutions. There are many Indian associations in the Malay States and if the Government wish to take some Indians as members of the Legislative Council, these associations can very easily return such members. The low political condition of the Indians is the sole reason for their having lost their respect in other countries.

Referring to the news that many of the Indians are desirous of coming back to India being unable to put up with the hardships inflicted on them by the 'whites' in South Africa, the Dravidan, of the 9th June, says:--It is no doubt better for our brethren to come away than suffer under the tyrannic rule of the whites there. It is the labour of these Indians that has helped to improve that country and make the whites happy. The conduct of the latter in now acting ungratefully to the former only forebodes their future ill-luck. Further, it appears the Indians have not been permitted to bring with them to India even the money and the movables they have earned. Alas! What cruelty! It is injustice enough that the Indians should be harassed to leave that land and what to say of the injustice of the whites in preventing the Indians from taking their earnings with them? If the British Government and the Government of India fail to pay careful attention to this matter and

render justice, it is sure they will be incurring the serious displeasure of the Indians.

The Khilafat question.

9. The Swadesamitran, of the 9th June, reproduces in Tamil the message sent by the Khilafat deputation from Paris to the Sultan of Turkey assuring him of the sympathy of the whole Muslim world.

The Desabhaktan reproduces in its issues of the 10th, 11th and 12th June matter purporting to be contained in the publications of the Vaniyambadi Khilafat Committee on this question. The Swadesamitran, of the 11th June, also contains the substance of one of these publications.

The Khilafat question.

The Vedooshakan, of Medom, 1095, M.E. (April-May), refers to the labours of the Indian Khilafat Deputation in Europe, and to the passing of resolutions regarding non-co-operation with Government by almost all the Khilafat Conferences in India, points out that India is impatiently waiting for the result of the labours of the Khilafat Deputation, and observes that statesmen prophesy that the scenes in Ireland will ere long be enacted in India, in case the Government should keep quiet till the Khilafat agitation gains strength.

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10. The Swadesamitran, of the 11th June, gives a detailed description of the atrocities said to have been committed in the case of Indian men and women during the disturbances in the Fiji Islands in February last, and writes:--

The Indians in the Fiji Islands.

It is really a day-dream for us, who have not an equal status with the Europeans in our own country, to expect such a status in the colonies and the other parts of the Empire. When justice has not yet been obtained for the unjust acts committed by the bureaucrats and the military officials in the Punjab last year, who is going to afford a remedy for the misery suffered by our poor brethren in the Fiji Islands and the hardship suffered by them in February last? The atrocities committed in the Fiji Islands are more horrible than those committed in the Punjab. The Government of India have not said anything till now about the disturbances in the Fiji. When they are keeping quiet, it will be foolish on our part to expect the Fiji Government to send us information about them by wire. The Indians in the Fiji are not happy even though the indenture system has been abolished. Their misery and hardship have only been increasing. The Indians there will not forget, until they die, the sufferings they underwent in February last. We do not deny that they committed some mistakes on account of their poverty; but it is a disgraceful thing indeed that the Fiji Government should have, like the Government of India, passed an emergency law on the pretext of an 'open rebellion.' The Indians have been in the Fiji for the last 42 years and the present fertility of the Islands and the huge profits made by the European capitalists there are due only to the labour of the Indians. As a reward for all this, they are beaten and kicked and even shot down. They have to work to gain

a profit for the European capitalists and receive the wages that the latter pay. If they complain of inadequacy of wages and refuse to work, the power of punishing them is in the hands of the European officials. Are the Government of India unaware of what happened in Fiji, or are they aware of it and still keeping quiet?

The Desabhaktan, of the 11th June, also refers to these disturbances and says:--These disturbances are almost similar to those that occurred in the Punjab last year. In some respects, the methods adopted in the Fiji appear to have been harsher than those followed in the Punjab. The main reason for these disturbances seems to be the strike of Indian labourers, on the ground that they should be paid higher wages owing to the high prices of foodstuffs. Besides this, the Europeans set up a false rumour that the wife of Doctor Manilal was about to be arrested. For this many lost their lives and many were wounded. The talk of self-determination is increasing after the war and with it the murderous acts of the British. This is borne out by the incidents in the Punjab and the disturbances in the Fiji. In addition to this, indescribable are the hardships inflicted on the Indians in South and East Africa by the whites there. All this would show that the attitude of the British has undergone a change after the war. The impression is strong in India that the British are now actuated by the arrogance that they have conquered Germany. The statement of Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the 7th April 1919 that the British Government that had defeated Germany could supress the rioters in no time, and the words of General Dyer and the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar uttered on the 14th ~~point~~s idem* of President Wilson have been drowned in the sea. Those possessed of valour used to be also merciful. But does this not apply to British valour? It is stated that the war was waged for establishing righteousness and truth. Where are these now?

11. The Swadesamitran, and the Desabhaktan, of the 11th June, reproduce in Tamil the details furnished by the Rev.C.F. Andrews to a representative of the Associated Press regarding the condition of Indians in East Africa, and the former paper observes as follows:--

The Indians in East Africa.

The condition of Indians in British East Africa is giving room for grave anxiety. It is ridiculous that while we are British subjects and are enjoying great influence and some special privileges in countries not belonging to the British our brethren have no rights whatever in the British colonies. It is highly disgraceful that the Indians there are not treated with the same respect as other races. This is perhaps the equal status which is going to be given to the Indians in the British Empire! The fact that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has refused to approve of the words of Lord Chelmsford at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 30th January 1920, that the Indians should not have a lower status than other races in the non-self-governing British Colonies shows the inflence the words of the Government of India command in London and the fear the Secretary of State for the Colonies has of the European capitalists. Unless the Viceroy works strenuously for giving effect to his words, we will have to class them only with the other assurances. We cannot say that, within the last five years of Lord Chelmsford's administration here, he has at any time fought boldly for the Indians to preserve their self-respect or to secure for them an equal status in other countries; nor has he had the courage to take steps in a liberal spirit on the advice of the leaders. He has ~~neitherxthexinclinationxnorxthextimextoxrelievexthe miseryxofxthe~~ been devoting his whole attention in suppressing internal riots. He has neither the inclination nor the time

to relieve the misery of the Indians in other countries. The mind of the Indians is now highly excited. They are driven everywhere and mocked at as blacks and wicked people. Under these circumstances, it will not reflect credit on the British Empire, nor can we proudly claim to be British subjects, unless an equal status is secured to us by means of law both in India and elsewhere.

The aim of the westerns in the east.

12. The Swadesamitran, of the 14th June, writes:--Some statesmens, mad after acquiring territories, unblushingly proclaim that the mission of the westerns, especially the Europeans, is only to civilise the eastern countries. But experience shows that their real aim is only to exploit the resources of other countries. Professing that they have been improving the black races, the Europeans have divided among themselves every portion of Africa. The excellent men who wanted to grant liberty to the Kaffirs and the aborigines in Africa, are now treating them worse than slaves. The policy of Imperial Preference, in effect, only helps the Europeans to exploit the resolurces of the countries inhabited by the blacks. The law passed recently in British West Africa that dry coconuts available there in large quantitics should be exported to countries only within the British may be quoted as an instance in point. This law was passed in the Legislative Council of British West Africa in the same manner in which the Rowlatt Act was passed in India. In the course of the discussion in the Parliament, the Colonial Secretary shamelessly admitted that the law was passed only to support an English industry. We cannot but note here that it is nothing but racial arrogance, a desire for the acquisition of territory and a kind of aversion to the black races, that leads to the

passing of such laws.

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13. The Andhrapatrika, of the 11th June, says under this heading:--The condition of the Indians in the British colonies is daily growing more unendurable now ehen some are eagerly expecting the grant of self-government to India at an early date.

The miserable condition of the Indians in the colonies,

Mr.Andrews has told the Assciated Press Representative in what a critical condition the Indians in East AFrica are placed. Lord Milner has rejected the recommendations of the Government of India. The South African Government are arranging to send away the South African Indians to India. Horrible news is being received from the Fiji Islands. It surpasses the distressing news from Amritsar. (Here the paper gives the particulars of the news from the Fiji). The Fiji Government have done t eir best to conc al these horrible deeds from the world. The Government of India have not published the facts. The Colonial Office has refused to institute ~~xx~~ a special inquiry into the ma ter.......The same evil prevails in every colony. When their requirements have been fulfilled, the white men try to drive the Indians from the colonies,and subject them to various sufferings. So long as the Indians ~~fromxthexcolonies,xandxsubjectxthemxtox~~ are slaves , the white men will be glad, but the former should not ~~taxex~~ attain liberty, should not acquire lands, should not trade and should not move on equal terms with white men. It is said that the intention of white men is to make all the colonies the countries of the white nations. Long before the white men stepped into those countries, the natives thereof had been living in them. Their rights are being trodden under foot. Indians have been living there for long. Among them there are some who do not know India at all. They were

born and brought up there only. It is quite improper to drive them away from there. In spite of the prevalence of such evils in the colonies, the Government of India welcome and honour those coming in quest of labourers, from the British Guiana and the Fiji Islands. It is not known how long such a state of things will exist. So long as the Indians do not get complete self-government, the colonials will not treat the Indians with respect.

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16. In an article under the heading "Indians in foreign countries," the Manorama, of the 11th June, dwells in detail upon the disabilities of the Indians in South Africa, Malay States and the Fiji Islands, points out that the Europeans in those places are treating Indians very badly and are unwilling to confer on them even the preliminary rights of citizenship, and that such a state of affairs is causing intense pain to all the people in India, and asks whether the Government of India are prepared to do anything in the matter and whether they will adopt a policy of tit for tat. The paper regrets that there is great difference between the words and acts of the conolians1 who deliver long speeches on the equality of the rights of the citizens of the Empire, and observes that it is the duty of the Government of India to devise immediate means for redressing these grievances.

Indians in foreign countries.

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22. (k) General.

22. The report of the Hunter Committee. Remarking that the report is, as expected, an one-sided one, inclined to support the measures adopted by the authorities to put down the disturbances. The Lokopakari, of the 3rd June, observes:--The usual view of the Englishman that the prestige of their race should not be curtailed pervades this report. The decision of the Government tends only to wipe the eyes of the people that shed tears at the sight of the atrocities committed in the Punjab. The Government opine that the only offence committed by General Dyer was that he exceeded his powers and a proper punishment has not been meted out to him for having misjudged the situation and committed a massacre by permitting the opening of fire on unarmed people until the shots were out. He has been made to give up his office before the publication of the report of the committee and the orders of the Government thereon. The administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who terrorised the Punjab by transferring the civil authority to military hands, has been praised by the Government. Lord Chelmsford might have prevented all the atrocities and massacres in the Punjab, which tend to lower the prestige of the British Government; but he was looking on indifferently and the British Government have nothing to say regarding the irresponsible nature of the Viceroy. What can be done? India is not under the rule of His Majesty, but under that of officials who are no better than hirelings. Until India acquires a representative Government, the Indians should remain without liberty, and their unanimous opinion will continue to be discarded by the officials, as evidenced by the introduction of the Arms Act, the Press Act, the Defence of India Act and the Rowlatt Act. As long as these remain on the Statute Book, it will be presumed that the British Government have no

confidence in the loyalty of the Indians. It is a fact recognized by history that a Government in which the people are distrusted, or one the policy of which is to keep the people always under subjection, does not last long. It is only that administration in which there is mutual confidence between the rulers and the ruled that will last for ever. It is highly surprising that the British Government should act without realising this even in the twentieth century.

Concluding from a statement of Mr.Lloyd George that it is proposed to finish the discussion of the report of the Hunter Committee in the House of Commons in a day, the Desabhaktan, of the 7th June, observes that it is really strange that the authority should think of discussing and disposing of an important subject like this, that affects 30 crores of people in a single day.

Referring to the view of the London Times that the Impartial and just conclusions come to by the British Cabinet and embodied in the Despatch of the Secretary of State should be accepted by all the parties and to the fact of the Bengalee also echoing this view, the Desabhaktan, of the 7th June, writes:--It is very easy to talk of co-operation. But it is a matter for consideration whether co-operation will not, on certain occasions, clash with self-respect and the prestige of the country. It is a kind of co-operation, indeed, to kiss the foot that kicks; but such co-operation will be found only among slaves. Some moderates are of opinion that the Despatch of the Secretary of State has secured a remedy for the atrocities committed in the Punjab. Empty words cannot render justice for the brutal acts perpetrated in this Province on the plea of preserving peace. Mr.Montagu has brought a serious indictment against General Dyer; but the punishment accorded is comparatively very lenient, some of the British papers compare the Jallianwallah massacre to the

sinking of the Lucidiana (?) The papers raised a cry that the authors of this injustice should be put to death. While this incident occurred in regard to enemy subjects and during war time, the firing in the Punjab was against people who did not commit any cruel deeds and who did not attack General-Dyer. It betrays the ignorance of the European members of the Hunter Committee and the Government of India to have suspected the possibility of the unarmed Indians attacking General Dyer, who was armed and equipped with guns. It is clear from the statement of General Dyer himself, that his object in firing was not so much to clear the crowd as to strike terror in the minds of the people of the Punjab. He had resolved to wreak vengeance a hundred or a thousand times over the few European lives that were lost and he had determined to open fire even before witnessing the state of affairs in the Jallianwallah Bagh. Thus he was guilty of murder and that the Hunter Committee should have ignored this point is itself sufficient to indicate the value of their report. How can we accept this report, which does not render justice for Indian women having been insulted, the popular leaders afflicted unjustly and the people of the Punjab ruined?

Remarking that the opinions expressed by the European and the Indian members of the committee show that the former had not an open mind when they began to conduct the inquiry, the Desabhaktan, of the 8th June, observes:-- They have discarded the evidence given by certain officials and have come to some independent conclusions. While the officials have confessed their guilt, these wise men try to declare them innocent. It is highly surprising to see the admissions of the officials being twisted to convey a different meaning. Though the Indian members of the Hunter Committee have now declared that there was no rebellion in the Punjab worth putting down and the Punjab Government too have given up the idea

that there was a rebellion, the European members of Hunter Committee have concluded that there was an open rebellion! The action of the Government in having incurred an enormous expenditure from the money of the poor people to secure this justice will increase the discontent of the Indians tenfold.

The Report of the Hunter Committee.

Referring to the view expressed by the European members of the committee, discarding even the evidence of the official witnesses, that, as the Government in India is that of the British, and the number of Europeans here, many of whom are officials, is very small, an attack by the people with intent to cause loss of European lives indicated the starting of a rebellion against the Government, the Desabhaktan, of the 10th June, observes:--According to this view attacking the Europeans is tantamount to attacking the Government. As the crowd in Amritsar attacked a few non-official Europeans, it was in effect guilty of rising in rebellion against ~~the State~~ the State. Not only the bodies of Europeans who belong to the same race as the rulers, but even the buildings, railways and telegraph wires belonging to the Government should be deemed to be divine! Thus the European members of the committee opined that the people rebelled against the State, and this view has already been upheld by the Government of the Punjab and that of India and now accepted even by the British Government. So we should follow the maxim that people with a white skin are divine! Until India acquires home rule, she cannot be rid of such miseries.

Anent the remark of the Government of India, in their despatch to the Secretary of State that, though they fully endorsed all the opinions contained in the majority report, the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi alone dissented from a portion thereof, the Swadesamitran, of the 11th June, refers to the Government

not having published Mr.Shafi's dissenting minute or explained the cause of this omission and remarking that this gives room for the people to make all sorts of surmises, adds:-- The Indians are entitled to know whether an Indian holding a responsinle post under the Government of India,has discharged his duty properly in regard to an important matter which is agitating the minds of the people in the country. The Hon'ble Mr.Shafi is also bound to acquaint the public with the fact of his having discharged his duty unfailingly. Though the Government of India may not be indlined to publish the dissenting minute in view of the importunity of the public, will Mr.Shafi urge for its publication?

The report of the Hunter Committee.

Referring to the conclusion of both the Indian and the European members of the Hunter Committee that the responsibility ~~fr~~ for the disturbances in the Punjab rested with Mr.Gandhi, the Desabhaktan, of the 14th June, writes:-- We are not surprised at this conclusion. It is a fact that all over the world those exercising power in an irresponsible manner never judge of the propriety or otherwise of their own acts. Considering the present condition of this country and the attitude of the rulers, we cannot deny that a movement like the satyagraha started by Mr.Gandhi is likely to prove dangerous. Passive resistance cannot prove beneficial in an irresponsible Imperial Government and bureaucratic administration. How can it be adopted in this country which is protected by an army composed of foreign soldiers and which is governed by foreign officials? How will the officials, who have been establishing their authority relying upon the weakness of the people, tolerate the satyagraha movement which can bring out the real force of the people? So they try to suppress passive resistance as much as they can, and it, therefore,

becomes impossible for it to stick to its true form for a long time. A passive resister will be prepared to undergo any punishment inflicted legally but not to suffer misery and insult at the will of the officials. If the Government want that constitutional limits should not be transgressed, they should not try to suppress passive resistance unnecessarily. We are of opinion that satyagraha is the best remedy for preventing the people resorting to the use of physical force. If the Government realise this, there will be no trouble in this country. The bureaucrats have not understood how Mr.Gandhi's satyagraha will further the future progress of this country and strengthen our link with the British kingdom. Of course, we know that proud people with narrow views cannot catch such subtleties and it is on account of this that they have resorted to brute force to put down satyagraha. Thus, the responsibility for the Punjab trouble rests only on the officials and not at all on Mr.Gandhi.

Adverting to the news that the discussion of the report in Parliament has been postponed on account of the fact that General Dyer has made a reppesentation to the Mil;tary Council, the Swadesamitran, of the 14th June, writes:--We are led to doubt whether this is the only reason for the postponement of the discussion. The Punjab affair has, from the beginning, been fighting shy of daylight. While the disturbances were at their height in the Punjab, numerous obstacles were thrown in the way of correct news getting out. Several months latter, a committee was appointed and its report was published unusually after the necessary action thereon had been taken. We expected that some of the Labour Members would represent the cause of the helpless Indians at least during the discussion of the report in Parliament. It looks as if even this opportunity is denied; for, the Labour Members would be away attending a conference of theirs and the discussion will be finished

with Mr.Montagu and others showering praises upon the Government of India and other parties concerned and there will be none to speak for the Indians. Thus the work begun by the Hunter Committee will be finished. It has whitewashed the affair in such a way that neither the Government of India nor that of the Punjab can be found fault with and its conclusions would be confirmed in Parliament. It will be known in a few days whether the adjournment of the discussion has been made for the purpose of whitewashing matters like this or for doing justice to General Dyer. We think there may be another reason also for the adjournment. It may be that Mr.Montagu has been frightened by the letter of Sir Michael O' Dwyer ~~to the~~ to the Times, which calls for an explanation from himself. Let us see what he has to say about this, capable as he is in offering explanations. Sir Michael now says that he suggested that Martial Law should be exercised by the civil authorities and that the Government of India did not agree to it. He would not have made the suggestion with the idea that the military authorities would act highhandedly. His intention might have been to crush the Punjab quietly with the aid of the civil authorities, well versed in his ways. It may be that the Viceroy did not agree to it on this account. But, in the absence of details, we are not able to explain the conduct of the Government of India. This only increases their responsibility. Let us hope that, as the Labour Members have promised to stand by India, the discussion in Parliament will take place when they are present and that the case of India will be properly represented.

The Swadesamitran, of the 14th June, reproduces in Tamil an article from the Young India of Mr.Gandhi, justifying satyagraha and edtracts from an article appearing in the Democrat regarding the report of the Hunter Committee.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 12th June says:--The Delay on the part of the Government of India in publishing the facts connected with the Punjab disorders, which came to their notice, cannot be justified.

The Hunter Committee's Report.

There was no means of the particulars being made known to the public. Indians cannot but agree with the statement of Sir Michael O'Dwyer that great loss was caused by such a state of things. Mr.Montagu stated in the House of Commons that he was not in possession of true information, and that therefore he could not give any to the House. But the story related by Sir Michael O'Dwyer contradicts this......There were many means of knowing the opinions of the people. Pandit Malaviya and others were publishing the circumstances then and there. It was therefore not proper on the part of the Government of India or of the Secretary of State to have failed to publish the facts as far as they could. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is of opinion that the minority was not impartial. Sir C.H.Satalvad, who was been made a High Court Judge recently was one of the Indian members. To call such a man not impartial, betrays the weakness of Sir Michael's contention.......Neither the Government of India nor the Hunter Committee have hesitated to treat the people with disregard. The Rowlatt Law is the true cause of the Punjab situation. The whole country including the moderates protested against it. The Government of India passed it notwithstanding all this. The people believe that their birthrights will not be safeguarded unless that law is repealed. It is not strange that under such circumstances ~~the~~ the people have taken to constitutional agitation. The world might now be aware of how far public opinion is opposed to the law. It would have been well if at least now the Government of India had seen their mistake and regretted it; It is improper to say that the Punjab affairs have taught a

salutary lesson to agitators. Perhaps Sir Michael O'Dwyer now writes such things to prejudice the minds of the Parliament members. If the members do no mind this but only do justice in the matter, they will be maintaining their self-respect, the respect of their country and their ancient traditions....... When Sir B.Fuller's Acts were agitating East Bengal, Lord Morely made bold to remove him from office and establish peace. If Mr.Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy had acted so boldly, there could have been no scope for the miserable Punjab situation. The Government of India granted all the boons Sir Michael O'Dwyer asked them for.......The Indians should exert themselves for arrangments, being made to prevent the recurrence in India of disorders similar to those of the Punjab. The Parliament also should set itself to the task and maintain the honour of the English Empire.

The Hunter Committee's report.

In criticising the Hunter Committee's report, the Hitakarini, of the 31st May, says.--It is to be regretted that the authorities who have been guilty of misdeeds have not been duly punished. All have eulogised Sir Michael O'Dwyer who is to some extent responsible for the disorders. The Indians deplore this. They will not feel satisfied unless the officials named by the Congress Committee at least are punished in the manner recommended in its report.

The Report of the Hunter Committee.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 15th June, refers to the resolutions passed in the meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, the Chief Central Organisation of the Hunter Committee, and says:--While the moderates themselves are thus condemning the report of the Hunter Committee it can be inferred how strong will be the views of the nationalsts.

Will the Parliament recognise the unanimous opinion of the Indians and maintain the honour of their country, or in their anxiety to maintain the prestige of the authorities, forego their own or their country's honour?

The Hunter Committee Report.

Referring to the decision of the Hunter Committee, the Kanthirava, of the 8th June, observes:--What can be the object of the Secretary of State in taking action on the report before the public could criticise the same? If course, Indian opinion does not count. But, then, was the Secretary of State afraid that Englishmen too might insist on amore severe punishment to General Dyer than a mere dismissal? It is, at any rate, amusing to witness him admit General Dyer's guilt and yet think that his action amounted to an error of judgment! Only an error of judgment to have killed 300-400 men, women and children, disabled some two thousand, and given no medical aid where it was absolutely necessary! Does it not suggest something deeper? If Dyer had been let off scot free, the English and Anglo Indian papers at least would have thanked Mr. Montagu. Why not send the 'Saviour of India' to Ireland and make him the Saviour of Ireland also?

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27. Expressing to the statement in the order that the Government are not prepared to increase General Dyer.

27. Expressing great regret at there being still persons in the British Empire to support General Dyer.

General Dyer, the Desabhaktan, of the 10th June, refers to the fact elicited by a recent question in the House of Commons, that he was asked to retire and as such would draw pensions observes:--General Dyer has put in about 34 years of military service in India and he should therefore retire now in the ordinary course. There is nothing remarkable therefore in the Commander-in-Chief having asked him to retire. An excellent punishment indeed for the Jallianwallah hero! We strongly condemn the idea of General Dyer being given a pension. It is the unanimous opinion of the Indian Public that General Dyer and other military officers of his stamp as well as Sir Michael O'Dwyer should be tried by a court of law, and many true Britishers also share this view. So it is the sincere wish of India that murderers like General Dyer should be brought to book, without the slightest concession being shown.

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28. The Swadesamitran, of the 11th June, writes:-- No notice was taken of the unbearable hardships and insults heaped upom Indian men and women in the Punjab as a result of the Martial Law. The Government of India, after witnessing the fun from a distance, nominally appointed a committee that would act according to their own wishes; and the European members of this committee have proved themselves worthy of the confidence reposed in them by the officials; The principles they have enunciated are unheard-of-novelties. Perhaps they have come to this conclusion, because it was the Indians that suffered! But a hue and cry is raised if a European lady is insulted, as is evidenced by the question asked in Parliament about the action taken by the Government regarding the abduction of a European lady from Peshawar and the statement of Mr. Montagu in reply that the local officials would know no rest until this wrong was suitably redressed. Is there a separate justice for the Indians? Are they not also subjects of His Majesty? Have they not a sense of shame? Does the Despatch of the Secretary of State give any room to say that he bestowed the least thought on the cruelties inflicted on them? Let the authorities themselves ponder over whether such invidious distinctions are calculated to promote the confidence of the Indians in the British Government.

Racial differences.

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29. Quoting a statement said to have been made by Sir Michael Sadler, the President of the Calcutta University Commission, recently in England, in speaking about the new spirit that has dawned in India, that the British should give up the idea that they have a special glory, and attaching primary importance to the interests of India, extend an open and hearty sympathy with the aspirations of the Indians, the Swadesamitran, of the 11th June, says:-- These words are sweet enough to read. Our faith generally in the British remains unshaken, only because there are a few such sincere and broad minded Britishers. But it remains to be seen whether there are any who will act up to these words.

Indians and Europeans.

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32. In the course of a leader under this heading, the Desabhaktan, of the 12th June, refers to the cry raised by the Anglo-Imdian papers that Mr.Gandhi and other leaders of the non-co-operation movement should be proceeded against by the Government and observes:--These papers think that all the evils in the country will disappeaxx if Mr. Gandhi and his followers are directed to be hanged or deported. The Anglo-Indians have, for a long time, been giving only the advice to the Government, that repression is the best remedy for political agitation, and the bureaucrats too have been acting upon it readily. But we find from our experience that, on every occasion they did so, the existing evils only increased. The bureaucrats, instead of admitting their ignorance and obstinacy, find fault with the people. The officials themselves have stated before the Hunter Committee that no disturbances would have occurred at Amritsar but for the deportation of Drs.Kitcheliew and Satyapal.

Non-co-operation.

It is the prohibition of the entry of Mr.Gandhi into Delhi that provoked the people of Ahmedabad and other places. One peculiar feature of the bureaucrats is that they never learn a lesson from experience. Non co-operation is only the refusal of one to co-operate with the Government. Strikes of labourers are now taking place in every country and they are not considered illegal in any country. They have not been pronounced to be illegal even in India. Now, can any one say that they are illegal, because excesses are committed sometimes as a result of these strikes? So, we cannot understand the argument that non-co-operation is illegal. The Anglo-Indian papers boldly declare it to be so. only because the Indians have not the rights of the British subjects in other countries. "If one gives you a slap on one cheek, show him the other and be patient" is the preaching of Jesus Christ to his followers. As a result of the present-day Christians understanding this preaching differently, they return hits by kicks. So it is quite natural that these should be afraid that Mr.Gandhi's words too will be interpreted like this. But we feel confident that the followers of Mr.Gandhi will not indulge in such curious interpretations. Some are against non-co-operation on the ground that though it may not lead the people to commit excesses, they may be provoked by the Government xxxxbexxobstrxxtedxbyxxthe resorting to repression. Every one should note that no movement can be obstructed by the Government unless it is unlawful. The will of the bureaucracy cannot be law. We hope the Government will act in this matter, after deep deliberation. There is now a difference of opinion in this country about resorting to non-co-operation. If the Governmnet should thoughtlessly interfere in this, they should note that all people will join together and take to it. We remind the Government of India that statesmanship

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consists only in taking proper steps calmly at a critical juncture.

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38. The weekly issue of the Andhrapartika, of the 2nd June, says under this heading:--

The advancement of the Panchamas.

The Panchama boys should be allowed full free scholarship in schools. If they are given free boarding also, quick will be their educational advancement. As in Mysore, the Government should make good the loss sustained by Panchama parents sending their boys to school. As the condition of the Panchamas is worse than that of the other depressed classes, it is necessary to give them greater help . Without some such help, they will not receive any education. Agitation should be started against the evil practice of advancing loans to Panchama agricultural labourers on the mortgage of their labour. It must be put an end to by means of legislation if need be. To enable the Panchamas to maintain their self-respect and live an independent life, the Government should give them small plots of land and make them agriculturists.

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39. The Andhrapatrika, of the 9th June, says under this heading:--European Associations in India are abusing Mr.Montagu for condemning the conduct of General Dyer and are stating that General Dyer is the saviour of India. ....The acts of Associations like these greatly help to bring the fair name of Britain into discredit.

The unwisdom of the European Associations.

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45. A correspondent to the Andhrapatrika, of the 9th June, says under this heading:-- See what efforts the bureaucracy has made to upset the reforms of Mr.Montagu. See what the bureaucracy has done when there was no pressure from England and when the Indian situation has not been critical Has it done any act which shows a real desire on its part to grant freedom to the people or an intention to introduce whole-hearted reforms? Does India expect the grant of freedom from a Government who treated the horrible Punjab murders with indifference, who screened the murders from the world by orders made at their will, who have excused the authors of the horrible murders, and who have thus made themselves responsible for the murders?

The mistakes of the moderates.

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46. The Kistnapatrika, of the 12th June, says:--The resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee, passed in its meeting held at Benares, have greatly disappointed us....

The India Congress Committee.

Will our duty be considered as finished with a cablegram sent to the Parliament? The Congress has not given up its old traditions. It used to send its petitions to the Government of India. It has now learnt to send a cablegran to the Parliament.........As regards the Khilafat question, Mr.Gandhi proposed a resolution urging the adoption of non-co-operation. The delegates from Madras and Bengal began to whisper into one another's ears. Mr.Satyamurti and Mr.Das invented a device. They proposed an amendment to the effect that the question being a difficult one, a special meeting of the Congress should be convened in September. The leaders concurred and threw out Mr.Gandhi's resolution. A special session of the congress may be found necessary, but why should the Congress Committee hesitate to express its opinion regarding the question? Why should it not say that it is not in favour of non-co-operation? Why so much policy in the matter? Mr. Gandhi is a perfect stranger to such a policy- Mr.Gandhi is a bold worker. In the Khilafat Conference held at Allahabad, he had the resolution on non-co-operation passed. Men of doubting minds may yet be vacillating. Some may regretfully ask 'what is to become of our Legislative Councils? Mr.Gandhi has made up his mind that India cannot become pure except by satyagraha, which is the sovereign remedy for all evils. It is his belief that if the Satyagraha movement spreads widely, not only the Khilafat problem but also all problems will be solved and India will gain complete self-government.

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51. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 12th Jube, observes:-- Those who assert that Indians are unfit for responsible government remark that there is neither unity nor patriotism among Indians, that they are so self-seeking as to abandon all righteousness even to the detriment of national interests, that they call themselves moderates in order to please the authorities, and that such people are only fit for a life of bondage and servitude and can never deserve responsible government. This is but natural. Those who merely try to please the authorities are very few. All are not moderates. There are countless people who fight fearlessly for their rights and liberties. Let these at least be granted self-government, and let the moderates be kept in servitude. It is unjust to treat the righteous, patriotic, and selfless Indians also as unfit for responsible government.

Indians and responsible government.

III.--LEGISLATION.

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59. The Kanthirava, of the 8th June, remarks:--It was the intention of His Excellency the Viceroy that such a Bill should be passed. But the Secretary of State for India, strangely enough, has on this occasion chosen to express an independent view, and has thus refused to sanction the establishment of force of Europeans exclusively. He seems inclined to the revival of the system of volunteering so as to admit all communities. The one difficulty as regards this scheme is that the recruiting officers for this force might send away fit Indians home, and admit Anglo-Indians or Christians instead, thus giving scope for the formation of a corps of their own. Our past Experience is enough evidence for this. Why should we not have, instead, of this, a citizen army to which all communities can be admitted?

The Auxiliary Forces Bill.

For the week ending 26th June, 1920.

NO. 26 OF 1920.

ENGLISH PAPERS.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(k)General.

2. The Hindu, of 23rd June, observes:--

Under which flag?

The Punjab affair.

"India has made up her mind on the question of the Punjab and what Britain is prepared to say or do is only of interest to her as the acid test of the lofty professions of ideals which have been so lavishly proclaimed by Britain. If the British nation find itself unable to rise superior to the basest passions and prejudices, if 'My countryman right or wrong' is still to be the standard of judgment in assessing crimilality, if the splendid brutality' of a gutter-mouthed sensation-monger is to be the considered judgment of the British democracy, no greater blow could be struck at the British connexion. Later on India may have occasion, and well wishers of the Imperial connexion cannot too strongly deplore the possibility, to revise her notions of the goal for which she is striving. They that take up the sword shall perish by the sword at least they cannot with any consistency plead their loftiness of ideals and their Heaven-appointed mission what time India, if ever, bids them depart and stand not upon the order of their going. In other words, political values in India are in danger of becoming radically altered and a demand for independence is likely to spring up similar to the Irish, in the face of which the microscopic doses of self-government, which is Mr.Montagu's prescription will be found to

to be pitifully inadequate.......The outlook is indeed extremely gloomy and unless something is done to reassure Indian opinion, the Empire would easily drift into a situation similar to thatxxx of Ireland with the added complications that racial and colour antagonism would introduce. What is at stake is not whether General Dyer is to lose his commission, Sir Michael his pension, or Mr.Montagu his post. The issue is whether the British Empire is to be a partnership of civilised nations or a menagerie. If India cannot get the treatment her status demands, then there is something wrong with that status and it would be for her to inquire whether a status which carries only responsibilities and no privileges is worth retaining. Her disilussionment has been complete....... After a war fought to make the world safe for democracy she has found it made safe for its Neros and its Attilas. That at any rate is the impression a man would gather who confined his attention to the views expressed by the British community in India and by a large and influential section of the British press. If those views are endorsed by Parliament, the British nation will stand convicted at the bar of humanity of callous hypocrisy. What the consequences of the exacerbation of feeling in India will be we do not care to dwell upon but in one important direction at least it will have the most deplorable consequences. Elsewhere we publish a letter on the visit of the Prince xxxx of Wales to India. No one would dream for a moment of associating the Prince with the machine-gun school of Imperialism; but it is no good disguising the fact that his welcome would lose much of its spontaneous heartiness if justice is not done to India........If the present attempt to blacken India's fair name in order to lighten the luridity of the Punjab episode suceeds, she will have

no heart to welcome one who, however amiable his personal qualities, comes as the representative of a nation which has conspicuously failed to do her justice."

VERNACULAR PAPERS.

I.--FOREIGN POLITICS.

The Indians in South Africa.

6. Adverting to the Government in South Africa having finally decided to send away such Indians to India as Volunteer' to go back and appointed a special officer to attend to this, the Swadesamitran, of the 22nd June, says:--We take it that even Sir Benjamin Robertson, who was sent by the Government of India to represent the cause of the Indians, approves of this arrangement. Considering the statement of the Times of India that he thinks that a very large number of Indians will go back to their motherland under this arrangement, every one will view that the Goverhment was wrong in having selected him for this work. No one in the colony is really willing to come away in India bag and baggage. But even unwilling people will now be made to yield.

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8. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 21st June, in the course of a long article, referring to the existence of racial animosity between the white and the black races in America, and the reports of linching, remarks:--The people of the United States of America are said to be renowned for their righteousness, humanity. truthfulness, and equality of treatment. Yet it is deplorable that the white and the black races there behave towards each other as literally worse than savages. The revenues of the Government are derived from the general public. It is the duty of the Government to protect the weak against the strong and see that their person and property are safe. Any Government which fails to discharge these duties at once forfeits its title to be called Government. Such a Government is as good as non-existent. Every country, where such crimes are committed, may be said to have a Government that is a living corpse. It is the opinion of many that 'linching' in their case would not be any offence at all. Such an opinion does not seem unjust. When highhandedness of this nature is permitted in countries having a democratic Government, we must conclude that justice is banished from even the Republican countries. This is, indeed, most deplorable. Will not President Wilson and others of his type try every means in their power to ward off such enormities?

Racial hatred in America.

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8. The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 21st June, in the course of a long article, referring to the existence of racial animosity between the white and the black races in America, and the reports of linching, remarks:--The people of the United States of America are said to be renowned for their righteousness, humanity, truthfulness, and equality of treatment. Yet it is deplorable that the white and the black races there behave towards each other as literally worse than savages. The revenues of the Government are derived from the general public. It is the duty of the Government to protect the weak against the strong and see that their person and property are safe. Any Government which fails to discharge these duties at once forfeits its title to be called Government. Such a Government is as good as non-existent. Every country, where such crimes are committed, may be said to have a Government that is a living corpse. It is the opinion of many that 'linching' in their case would not be any offence at all. Such an opinion does not seem unjust. When highhandedness of this nature is permitted in countries having a democratic Government, we must conclude that justice is banished from even the Republican countries. This is, indeed, most deplorable. Will not President Wilson and others of his type try every means in their power to ward off such enormities?

Racial hatred in America.

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9. The Manorama, of the 15th June, points out that the resolution passed by the Europeans of East Africa, refusing to grant the Indians there, the power of voting in Legislative Councils, etc., prohibiting their acquisition of lands, and segregating them to particular localities in the towns, is likely to destroy the friendly relations between the two communities and to increase racial hatred, and expresses surprise that some Europeans should act in this manner at a time when European leaders are delivering speeches on equality of rights and liberty, etc. It is of opinion that Indians have for a long time been smarting under similar disabilities in the colonies, and says:--In spite of incessant efforts, the grievances of Indians in the colonies are not redressed. If those in power are prepared only to act in an unjust manner, and if no reasonable suggestion to the contrary is acceptable to them because of their selfishness, no better result could be expected.

The Indians in Foreign countries.

The Malayali, of the 19th June, also refers to the hard lot of the Indians in South Africa and calls upon the British Government to do all in their power for safeguarding the interests of the Indians as otherwise it is doubtful whether the British Empire which is based on justice and friendship will continue in its present condition for a long time. The paper adds that Indians should never give up the struggle and that if the British Government are not able to protect their interests the only other course to follow is to pay the colonials in their own coin.

II.--HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Police.

The ways of the Secret Police.

10. Reiterating its opinion that, though His Majesty has stated in His Proclamation that all the bitterness of feeling that existed between the rulers and the ruled should completely disappear hereafter and that both of them should co-operate heartily, the attitude of the officials in general and especially of those in the Punjab has not undergone any special change, and that the appeal of His Majesty has fallen only on deaf ears, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th June, details some of the contents of a memorial said to have been submitted to the Viceroy by a titleholder in the Punjab and the editor of the New Herald, now defunct, about the way in which he has been harassed by the Police in that Province and about his having been required to give an undertaking that he would not take part in politics or conduct a newspaper for five years and observes:--His Majesty himself has stated in His Proclamation that there is no objection whatever to one taking part in lawful political movements. Further, the Bombay chronicle says that the memorialist is not the man to carry on any agitation, transgressing all constitutional limits. In such circumstances, it is not at all proper that he should be prevented from following his usual avocation and thus deprived of a living. If he misconducts himself, there are other ways of punishing him. Will the Viceroy at least intercede on his behalf and mete out justice, or will he allow the high-handedness of the Secret Police to prevail?

Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Punjab incidents.

17. Expressing its surprise at the statements of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in his recent letter to the Morning Post that the Viceroy was himself responsible for the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab and that the Secretary of State was wrong in having stated that he knew nothing of the incidents in the Punjab before the details of the inquiry of the Hunter Committee appeared in the newspapers, the Desabhaktan, of the 15th June, says:--Though the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have exonerated Sir Michael and showered praises on him, in spite of his having been the primary cause of the Punjab massacres, the latter is now finding fault with the former and his object in doing so is not clear. As the report of the Hunter Committee says that the excesses committed in the Punjab would have been minimised if, in addition to military rule, the Civil Administration had also been continued, and the Government of India have noted in their despatch that they intend to make an inquiry again to find out who was responsible for the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab, the object of Sir Michael in writing this letter is evidently to escape from blame. Whatever may be the tactics played by Sir Michael, the Indians will consider him alone to be the primary cause of the Punjab massacres. We do not say that the Viceroy has no responsibility in this matter. The innocent people in the Punjab were subjected to misery, only because he failed to realise his responsibility as the head of the Indian administration and we have often stated that he is, on this account, unfit for holding this high post. Still we cannot bring ourselves to believe that, as alleged by Sir Michael, Lord Chelmsford would have insisted on the introduction of Martial Law. We very much pity that Sir Michael should attempt to remove the bad impression of the public even by uttering an untruth.

18. Remarking that, for some time past, the Government have been viewing the Congressmen with disfavour and excluding them, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th June, quotes the question asked on this subject by Mr. Swan in Parliament on the 19th May last and the reply of Mr. Montagu thereto and observes:--

The Congressmen and the Government.

The time seems to be long past when (the Secretary of State, Mr. Bonar Law and others were intent on passing the Reforms Act before the Congress met. Mr. Montagu is personally aware of the fact that the majority of the people in India are Congressmen. These are being purposely kept out by the Provincial and the Imperial Governments. But they are none the worse for that. Still it behoves the Secretary of State to remedy the injustice of the Government in wantonly boycotting a party which is in the majority in the country. In India the Government have men to side with them in achieving anything they want.) Under such circumstances, where else can we complain of grievance than in the Parliament?

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19. Referring to the statement made by the Madras Mail that the capitalists who recently met in Madras have sent a memorial to the Government requesting them to inquire into the causes of the labour troubles in Madras for the past one year and that the matter is under the consideration of the Government, who may appoint a strong committee for the purpose, the Swadesamitran, of the 15th June, observes:--For some time past, we have been feeling suspicious that the European capitalists, whose main object is to drain the resources of India, being afraid, of the legitimate demands of the labourers for increased wages and other comforts, are trying to crush the labour associations altogether. As labour associations are a necessary feature of any civilised country, we were under the impression that the cry raised by them would be of no avail. We believe that the Government too have appointed a Labour Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners and an Advisory Board only in appreciation of the efforts of the labourers to form associations among themselves and improve their position. Under such circumstances, let us see whether, as expected by the Madras Mail, the Government will take steps to appoint a committee for the purpose of crushing the labour associations, ignoring the interests of the country and of the labourers and giving prominence only to the conveniences of the European capitalists.

Indian labourers and Anglo-Indian capitalists.

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21. Remarking that the conclusions in the report of the Hunter Committee are very novel, the Dravidan, of the 16th June, observes:--The European Members of the committee have belittled the offence committed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and others of their own colour. The reasons adduced by the authorities for the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab provoke laughter and are not worthy of the ruler of a province. They have admitted that everything was quiet and yet Martial Law was introduced. Is this proper? All these cruelties are said to have been inflicted with a view to create a feeling of reverence for the authorities in the minds of the Indians. But they have, on the other hand, led to the disappearance of the confidence and good faith the Indians had in the Government till now. Is this also statesmanship.

The report of the Hunter Committee.

Quoting an observation of the Government of India in their despatch on this report, that they could not write as complete strangers to the affair and that they had to base their view only on the report received from the local officials, the Swadesamitran, of the 17th June, says:--It is no wonder that the Government of India xxxxldx should opine in this manner about the Punjab affairs; for birds of a feather naturally flock together. The life of the European is very valuable to them and they run to the rescue of the Europeans, the moment these are in trouble. Though it may be conceded that it is power to act in accordance with the wishes of the local officials, it is quite wrong on the part of the Government of India to have acted blindly without realising their responsibilities. As the Tribune remarks, if the Government of India had any statesmanship, they would not have acted so unwisely.

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The Hunter Committee's report.

Referring to the report of the Hunter Committee, the Andhraprakasika, of the 29th May, says:--Hunter means a person who is ahunting. Just as the act of a hunter who kills another by accident is justified, the military acts in the Punjab are justified by the Hunter Committee. Its report will surely cause excitement and disappointment. The inhuman acts perpetrated in the Punjab will be considered as a great stain on the fair name of the Government.

The Hunter Committee Report--II.

Under this heading the Desabhimani, of the 6th June, adduces arguments to refute the allegation of the existence of a state of open rebellion and of the consequent need for the application of Martial Law and observes:--

While the English Members of the committee themselves admit that they have no proof of a conspiracy, it only betrays the thick-headedness of Mr.Montagu that he should set about justifying the application of Martial Law.... We cannot understand the justice, fairness or civilisation of setting aside ordinary law and having recourse to Martial Law to avert the contingency of some future disorders It would have been well if the India Government had admitted that their action was wrong and expressed their repentence. Instead of doing so they were solicitous for their prestige, and pointed out to the existence of an open rebellion. That Mr.Montagu should accept that theory without scrutiny betrays his want of discrimination........ The people have reasons to suspect that the police had allowed them unawares to assemble at the Jallianwalla Bagh..... General Dyer himself admits that the crowd would have dispersed if he had warned them to do so, but the English

Members of the Committee assert that they would not have dispersed. How they could find this cannot be understood.... They pronounced that this cruel act was done in good faith, and that it was not harmful. At this rate we cannot understand if there is any difference between General Dyer and the murderer' Kaiser.........That the English Members failed to condemn this 'cruel massacre' and pronounce death sentence upon its base perpetrator and that they have whitewashed the whole affair, proclaims

PA their partiality. Would any Englishmen say that it is just to perpetrate such a demoniacal massacre, on the ground that there was loss of life among the Europeans?..... But the Bishop of Simla says that the General Dyer has saved the Europeans. How can race prejudice be prevented from springing up under such circumstances? How can there be co-operation between the Indians and the Europeans? It is a matter for regret that the English Members have wrecked the honour of their country and justice by failing to condemn these inhuman acts.

The Report of the Hunter Committe

Referring to the Report of the Hunter Committee, the Swadesabhimani, of the 18th June, observes:--On a deep consideratinn, though the Indian Government and Sir Michael O'Dwyer have thrown dust into the eyes of the Parliament in regard to their behaviour, their action has not only cast a slur on the two special characteristics of British administration, namely, equity and discrimination, but has also put a huge blot on the Royal Proclamation. General Dyer is a military man. The British soldier, intoxicated with the cry of victory of the British nation in the recent war, may naturally be tempted to make a free use of his sword against an unarmed people. Is not then the responsibility

of those approve of his action and of those who are the main cause of these disturbances all the greater? This responsibility is enhanced still further by the passing of the Indemnity Act in inordinate haste to shield from any inquiry those who enforced Martial Law even after disturbances had ceased. Though some of the Irish people, fully armed, have been trying in all possible ways to bring the administration to a dead stop, why was no attempt made to punish these people as was done in the case of the unarmed people of the Punjab? The statement of Sir O'Dwyer in the London Times in defence of General Dyer is that the delay in the publication of the Hunter Report prejudiced his case. This doctrine of O'Dwyer that delay is harmful to the accused is wholly untenable. Was not Warren Hastings saved by reason of the ibquiry being held after a lapse of twelve years? It is well-known that time cools down excitement. That is why the politic Mr. Montagu delayed the publication of the Hunter Report. We shall find a more recent example of how delay helps to secure a more lenient treatment to the accused in the manner in which the Parliament are proceeding with the discussions about General Dyer. Just as a man who has lost his way becomes desperate, or a drowning man catches at a straw, so also Sir Michael is trying to put forward all kinds of defence.

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22. Remarking that the capitalists seem to be joining together with the object of crushing the labour movement and pointing to the hardships imposed on the labourers in the workshop at Arkonam after a labour union was started there, the Desabhaktan, of the 16th June, observes:--We understand that in the Madras Electric Supply Corporation the workmen on strike have not yet been asked to resume work, and that the military coolies are working in their place. What business have the military coolies, who work under the Government, in a workshop in which the labourers have struck work? We wish the Labour Commissioner explains this; otherwise it will give room to suspicions against the Government. It is, indeed, the good luck of the labourers that the capitalists have come forward to crush the labour organisations; for it will promote the zeal and determination of the labourers and foster their union. History shows that in the struggle between the labourers and the capitalists throughout the world, it is the former that have become victorious and the same is sure to be the case in our province also. We hope the Government will adopt an impartial attitude in this struggle. When capitalists suspend their business often and seek the aid of Government unnecessarily, the latter should refuse it. It is certain that the labourers will cause no difficulty to the public. Strikes occur often on account of the capitalists oppressing the labourers, and every time there is a strike, the capitalists seek the aid of the Police, which they have. Police aid should not be given to those who disregard the Labour Commissioner appointed by the Government. Unless such restrictions are enforced, the capitalists will not act

Labourers and capitalists.

justly. The Government should arrange to levy a tax on the capitalists whenever they give them Police aid. The capitalists accomplish their object with the strength of the Police and the poor labourers who strike work fail to obtain justice. We hope the government will be on their guard not to get entangled in the devices now contemplated by the capitalists. O labourers! Whatever the capitalists may do and whoever may help them, you will certainly be helped by the Almighty. Be united and stand firm.

The Punjab incidents.

24. Concluding from the fact of the resolutions passed about the report of the Hunter Committee by the National Indian Association of Calcutta with the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Bannerjea at its head being similar to those passed by the All-India Congress Committee, that Lord Sinha's statement that the moderates and the extremists hold different opinions on the Punjab disturbances has now been falsified, the Desabhaktan, of the 16th June, hopes that the British Government will note during the discussion in Parliament about General Dyer, that opininn is unanimous in India as regards the Punjab incidents.

The Punjab incidents.

Adverting to the statement in the resolution passed by the European Association at Darjiling in Bengal on the report of the Hunter Committee that during the Punjab trouble the Europeans were murdered cruelly, while the loss of life among the Indians was a necessary sequel to the steps taken by the military ~~to save the Indians was a necessary sequel to the steps taken by the military~~ to save the situation, the Desabhaktan, of the 16th June, observes:--We wish to know whether the Europeans of Darjiling had their wits about them when they

passed this resolution. Had they included the above statement in their resolution conscientiously with true British blood running in their veins (where does this originate,?) the civilized world cannot excuse them. What are we to say of those Europeans who have dared to describe the loss of seven European lives as murder and the shooting down of several hundreds of innocent lookers-on to be not murder? We very much feel for the loss of those Europeans who fell victims to the wrath of a few mean-minded persons. Similarly we feel for the Indians that were massacred and this is the duty of impartial persons. But some of the Europeans--the Government of India should be bracketted with these in a way--cry only for the Europeans and have not said a word of sympathy for the Indians. Now the Europeans in Darjiling have declared that it is but proper that the Indians lost their lives. It is certain that, as long as there are Europeans in India who consider European blood to have a speciality about it and the Indian blood to be no more than water, neither they nor India will have a good time. If the Europeans in India are of this turn of mind, they may immediately leave India and get to the Arctic region to have their constitution examined by the Esquimanx there; for India, the abode of saintly souls like Dharmaputra and Vasishta, cannot suit, them. We think that this resolution of the Europeans of Darjiling is a great disgrace to true Britishers.

Anent a recent letter written by the Archbishop of Simla, on the Punjab incidents, the Desabhaktan, of the 17th June, writes:--We very much regret that this missionary, who is the religious head of thousands of people, should have forgotten the teachings of Jesus Christ and, holding narrow views like atheists, used expressions calculated to accentuate racial and religious differences

and create a feeling of hatred between the rulers and the ruled. Those well acquainted with the Punjab incidents will very easily understand that the statements made by the Archbishop, in his letter, are contrary to truth. He published his letter in England like Sir Michael, because the people there cannot readily refute them, as the Indians, that know the truth, can. This wise person only exaggerates the hardships which he considers the Europeans to have suffered and has not a word to say about the misery inflicted on innocent men among the Indians and about Indian women having been dragged out of their homes and insulted. Though he praises the high qualities of the Indians, his letter is in general, such as to create a feeling of hatred between the Indians and the whites. If even the head of the Catholic Chruch should act so narrow mindedly, discarding the teachings of Christ, is there any wonder in the Christians, sunk in materialism, acting against the Christian faith?

The Swadesamitran, of the 21st June 1920, also refers to the resolution passed by the Europeans of Darjiling and says:--Some European gentlemen, who have come here only to make a living by exploiting the resources of India, are speaking and acting as if the life of the Indian is worth nothing, while that of the white is all important. The massacre at Jallianwalla and the arrogant words of the planters of Darjiling can be quoted as instances of this. Not stopping with the creation of a colour bar in the matter of acquiring property or rights, they have now fixed a standard even for the human life. They themselves admit that the Indians in the Punjab were wantonly killed and it is with such men that the moderates ask us to co-operate!

The Punjab incidents

Quoting an extract from a contribution to the LONDON TIMES by a missionary, who returned to England rencently after serving

for about 10 years in the Punjab, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 18th June, says:--The letter has been so worded as to create in the minds of the British public the greatest disgust for the Indians. If one, who came to India for imparting religious instruction, should prove to be an embodiment of falsehood and deception, it will certainly be a disadvantage to the missionaries that follow him. We need not say that those who do not condemn the iniquities in the Punjab and who have no sympathy for the Indian sufferers are the least fitted to be missionaries. Who will not regret to see that, while we are urging for those responsible for the Punjab massacre being brought to book, some missionaries have stooped to utter lies for exonerating them? General Dyer need not be discouraged in the least, when he has the sympathy of such influential persons. But, we will confidently assert that, if the words of these men are really to prevail, the Indians will certainly lose their faith in British Justice.

Hardships under the British rule

29. Remarking that it is a question for calm and careful consideration by both the Indians and the Englishmen, whether India has been enjoying happiness or misery during the last 150 years that she has been under the British rule, the DESABHAKTAN, of the 18th June, observes:--After the advent of the British in India, the Indians have not been enjoying the happiness they were enjoying before. Industry, on which relies the economic condition of the country, has perished. The spiritual learning of India has been blighted. Besides these, she is being harassed by the repressive laws of the bureaucrats. The cruel laws obtaining in India do not exist in any other country. We hope the bureaucrats will not fall foul of us, when we say that India has been suffering hellish miseries for the past 150 years. The worst of the cruelties ever committed in India is the Punjab massacre, a more heinous act than which cannot be committed by the bureaucracy. Though news about this massacre has reached Britain, known for its spirit of liberty, nothing tangible has yet been done by her people. Sir Michael has insulted India

in all possible ways. We know not whether Mr.Montagu is aware of all the unjust acts committed by this man after he took charge of the administration of the Punjab. The very policy adopted by the latter in recruiting men and fleecing money for the war would warrant his removal from office. Was it not because his various acts of injustice were being pleasantly countenanced by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State that this man ultimately committed the Punjab massacre? It is surprising that the idea of punishing him has not yet entered the mind of the Secretary of State. Lord Chelmsford who supported Sir Michael's actions, still continues to be the Viceroy and his admirer Mr.Montagu continues as Secretary of State. The recall of Lord Chelmsford has been demanded by every District and Provincial Conference in India and also by the Congress. But who cares for the resolutions of these bodies? The resolution of the Congress which is the representative assembly of the Indians, has been ignored and is it not tantamount to an insult offered to India? In view of the Punjab massacre, Sir Michael should be punished and Lord Chelmsford recalled, and Mr.Montagu who has not secured the confidence of the Indians, should be removed from his office and all this has to be done by the British Sovereign. O Kind! we have suffered enough and cannot suffer any longer the misery caused by the bureaucrats. O Indians! You have lost your honour by the Punjab Massacre. You should retrieve it now, at least by making sacrifices.

A labour meeting

30. The SWADESAMITRAN, and the DESABHAKTAN, of the 16th June, and the HINDU NESAN, of the 17th June, publish the proceedings of a meeting of the Madras labourers held on the 15th idem for the purpose of condemning the alleged attempt of the capitalists to crush the labour movement, in which Mr.T.V.Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar is reported to have made the following observations among others:--What have the Government done till now to help the labour movement, beyond the appointment of a Labour Commissioner? I will hold the Government themselves responsible

for the danger that is now threatening the labourers. The authorities are engaged more on booking the labour-leaders than on furthering the interests of the labourers. It is not fair on their part to join with the capitalists and subject the labourers to hardships. If they do not interfere even now and render justice, it will surely lead to danger. We should make it impossible for the European capitalists, who have been draining our blood for the last 150 years and growing fat with the aid of Indian labour, to make enormous profits in India. I will confidently assert that, if the labourers should come to grief during the administration of Lord Willingdon, we will not be responsible for the future consequences.

The Hindus and the Khilafat

33. In a leader under this heading, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th June, writes:--No one, who knows the feeling of the Muslims in connexion with the Khilafat, will venture to belittle it. We believe that even the weaklings, who receive titles and appointments and nod their heads to whatever the officials say, are aggrieved at heart about the Khilafat. But some Anglo-Indian liers, who have not moved with the Muhammadans and tried to understand their feeling, say that the Khilafat agitation is not the outcome of the faith of the Muslims in their religion but ~~has s~~ has been created by the Hindus with a political motive. Thus the PIONEER writes that the fact of Mr.Gandhi having been asked to accept the leadership of the Khilafat agitation and the Nizam having adopted severe measures against those engaged in this agitation ~~and of the Nizam having adopted severe measures against those~~ will itself prove that it is a political movement and that the majority of the Muslims surely resent the attempt of the extremists among the Hindus to turn the Muslim feeling to their own advantage for ~~are but~~ aught we know there is not a ~~[illegible]~~ Muslim who is not grateful to the Hindus for helping his community, at this dangerous moment. It has been the work of men like the editor of the PIONEER to prevent the union of the Hindus and the Muslims and they were doing it effectively. But ever since the two communities found out the trick and began to unite, the Anglo-Indian papers have been trying their best to spoil that unity

and the more they try to do this, the stronger becomes the attachment between the two communities.

The responsibility of the Secretary of State for India

35. Referring to the fact that the expenses of the India Office, including the salaries of the Secretary of State for India and other officials will hereafter be borne by the British exchequer, the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 19th June, writes:-- Though this is an advantage to India in that it saves her the small amount she was till now spending on this item and it will give an opportunity to the British Parliament to understand how the administration is conducted in India, while passing the salaries of the Secretary of State and other officials, we cannot be certain that, on this account, the Parliament will take a great interest in Indian affairs. What guarantee is there that even hereafter the Indian budget will not be discussed as before in an hour or two by a few members of Parliament? Leaving this alone, India is losing millions of pounds through the Department of the India Office that purchases articles in England for India, though there is an order on Paper that an attempt should be made to purchase all articles in India alone. Millions of pounds again are being lost by India on account of pensions being paid in England to the retired civilians, the rate of exchange being altered constantly, the sale of 'reverse councils' by the Government of India, the gold reserve of India being retained in England and lent to the British merchants at a low interest and the Trade Commissioner, who remains in England on behalf of India and at her expense, favouring the British merchants and ignoring the interests of Indians. Unless all these grievances are redressed, we cannot be highly pleased with the mere fact of the Secretary of State's salary having been placed on the British estimates.

A case against Dyer and O'Dwyer.

36. Referring to the news that the father of the boy named Madan-Mohan who was one of the victims at the Jallianwalla Bagh,

intends taking action against General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer the DESABHAKTAN, of the 21st June, observes:--When it is a question between blacks and whites or the people and the bureaucrats it is rarely that the former obtains justice. Nevertheless, an action like this will demonstrate to the world the massacre committed by General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab. That is also a great advantage.

The SWADESAMITRAN, of the 21st June, also refers to this subject and says:--Though it is doubtful that the father of the boy would succeed in his case, we think it is very necessary that the case should be launched. O'Dwyer is now jumping with joy under the impression that he has escaped. He is aiming an arrow even on the Secretary of State for India, who saved him. The Goddess of Justice will not be satisfied unless Dyer and O'Dwyer are punished.

A special session of the Congress.

39. The ANDHRAPATRIKA, of the 16th June, says in its leaderette under this heading:--The pledges of the British Ministers have been broken by the Turkish peace terms. The hope that the country will tread the path of self-government has been frustrated by the rules under the Reforms Act. The confidence that justice will at last be done has been shaken by the Hunter Committee's report. As pointed out by Mr.Gandhi in the YOUNG INDIA, the misdeeds of the Punjab authorities have been justified in the report. Mr.Gandhi has asserted that the adoption of the policy of non-co-operation is the only means to attain our object. He does not say that other constitutional methods should be given up. If the Parliament and the Ministers set themselves heartily to the task, they can easily allay the unrest in India. If on the other hand England attempts only to maintain the prestige of the bureaucracy, she will let slip a great opportunity. Those who know the past history of the Coalition Government and of the Prime Minister, Mr.Llyod George, cannot but doubt if they will show a liberality of mind suited to modern conditions.

If the authorities in England do not do their duty in this matter satisfactorily, what the Indians should do ~~should be~~ decided by the ~~Sperical~~ Special session of the Indian National Congress. Mr.Tilak accepts non-co-operation as a last resort.........

The Special Congress.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 19th June, says that ~~xxxx~~ if the final decision about the report of the Hunter Committee, the Khilafat question, and the rules under the Reforms Act, is unsatisfactory, the special session of the Congress will decide what India should do. Mr.Gandhi advocates non-co-operation. Mr.Tilak does the same thing but differs from Gandhi in details. Many therefore declare that they are prepared to abide by the decision of the Special Congress. It is a matter for encouragement for the Andhras that the Special Congress that should make this important decision assembles in the Andhra country.

What is the means?

40. Reviewing in its leader under this heading the booklet by Haridayal Nag entitled "Are we not in the mid-path to our destination," the Andhrapatrika, of the 18th June, says:--The author Mr.Nag considers the efficacy of the three forces of man, namely, brute force, the force of intellect and the soul force. The use of brute force is out of question in India. The British bureaucracy are experts in the use of intellectual force in political matters, and Indians will not compare favourably with them. The Europeans are unparallelled in their political skill. But as this intellectual ingenuity is exercised only for the attainment of material comforts,

it assumes an awkward form, which is illustrated by the European war. One nation tries to subjugate another. In this attempt, the freedom of the people is ignored. So long as the spirit of imperialism influences the European nations, there can be no scope for the principle of self-determination being adopted. Mr.Nag asserts that in political matters, the intellect of the Indians cannot be compared to that of the British. He opines that a perusal of the Reforms Act will enable us to know how the intellectual skill of the British manifests itself. In the announcement of the 20th August 1917, the words "Home Rule and self-determination" have been cautiously omitted. Mr.Nag asks whether, so long as the Government of India are arbitrary, self-governing institutions can grow under them. Can such a government be called a responsible government. How can the reforms be said to be stages to reach the goal of Home Rule. Can the Reform Act protect India from the methods of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer? If not, it is useless to expect that the reforms by themselves will take us to the goal. Mr.Nag has stated that in the manifestation of political skill, and in the use of intellectual ingenuity, the Indians are inferior to the British authorities. The object of the Indians will be gained by adopting the course which they can take to with zeal. In the use of soul-force, India has been famous from time immemorial. The great sages have been able to achieve great ends by the force of their tapas or austerity. Whatever changes have been effected in the traditions of the east by the militant civilisation of the west, soul-force has not entirely died out. The life of Mahatma Gandhi, who is astonishing the modern world by his spiritual force, is in illustration of this. Mr.Gandhi has successfully set himself to the task of spreading truth and righteousness. Though

the Hunter Committee has accused him without understanding his high ideal, the truth cannot but come out. Though under the present conditions, his activities are directed towards averting political evils, they will in future serve to uplift man. Mr.Nag says:-- It has been proved that ~~xxxxxxx~~ intellectual strength cannot be of any permanent use. Where is the Russian Czar now and has not the splendour of the Kaiser set? Is not the fame of Mr.Lloyd George who has till yesterday been said to be a very able man, fading? It is only the Soul-force that should guide our actions.

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45. In its leader under this heading, the Desabhimani, of the 6th June, briefly traces the causes that led up to the disorders and observes:-.....

The Punjab disorders and the Congress Committee report --IV.

~~Mxxxxxxx~~ The Rowlatt Bills are of the same type as the defence of India Act which is the strong/hold of despotic power. Mr.Gandhi opposed them by Satyagraha. The cruel, high-handed, and spiteful Sir Michael O'Dwyer undertook to set it at naught.......Satyagraha is a coin bearing the inscription Satya (truth) on one side and love on the other. The advocates of this principle believe that jail during its observance is the path to moksha(final emancipation) and death, the emancipation itself. Prahalada, Socrates, Jesus, Count Tolstoy preached and practised it. It is madness to oppose it, but Sir Michael O'Dwyer steeled his heart for the purpose.....The people in the whole of India observed the Satyagraha vow in obedience to the mandate of Mahatma Gandhi on the 6th, without any disorder. The Punjab was also peaceful......The people peacefuly followed their leaders, setting at naught the counsels of the

authorities and their dependents. The authorities could not bear this. The sun of intelligence set, the clouds of wrath spread, blinding the view, and the fight courted by Sir O'Dwyer and others--the fight between brute force and soul force-commenced. Mr.Gandhi and other leaders were placed under restraint; and the lamentable 10th, dawned.

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49. The Kanthirava, of the 15th June, observes:--

The Khilafat and the authorities.

Khil.

The authorities in Sind, having scented that there was something wrong with the Khilafat leaders, appear to have punished some of them including an aged and highly respectable zamindar. But this was not done in the name of Khilafat; the ostensible reason was different from the real motive. However there is no better way of enraging the peaceful people, and thus forcing them to commit violent deeds; and if some of the people, perplexed at such unjust acts, violate even to a slight extent the laws and regulations, then they are accused of rebellion, rioting, waging war against the King! and as a means of protecting the Empire come the machine guns, etc! Do Government possess no other means than these man tricks to put down any agitation which they do not like?

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50. Adversely criticising the order of externment passed

Externment of Pandit Jahwar Lal.

against Pandit Jahwar Lal at Mussorie, the Kanthirava, of the 15th June, writes:--This is only one of the many powers which the Police are free to use whenever they like. Why should there be any sentiment of justice or truthfulness

when the 'Defence of India Act', that immortal weapon, is still in its prime? Even if there should be any such ideas, is it not enough if they find expression from the lips of those who expect that the door of freedom would be opened by the Reforms Act? As a matter of course, the Defence of India Act should have been abolished within six months of the close of the war. But by some clever handling of circumstances it has been accorded a fresh lease of life. Do the moderates still hold that the declaration of rights is unnecessary?

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